Daily Report

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Owen Sees Future for Bosnia as 'Three Republics'

AU1007165693 Paris AFP in English 1558 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Zagreb, July 10 (AFP) - E.C. mediator Lord Owen gave clear backing Saturday to a joint Serbian and Croatian plan that would carve Bosnia-Herzegovina into three mini-states and leave the Moslem majority and its supporters with a rump republic.

Arriving at the Bosnian embassy here for talks with the Bosnian collective presidency, Owen said he believed there was "a future for Bosnia-Herzegovina under three republics", a formula which he said "deserves the most serious consideration".

The Serbian and Croatian proposal, amounting virtually to surrender terms, would effectively carve up Bosnia, leaving the Moslem majority, numbering 43 percent of the prewar population, together with significant numbers of Bosnian Serbs and Croats who supported the government, with around 30 percent of the territory.

Owen said the plan was "not the most ideal solution but I think you can build the country on that basis... It is not, what most people think, a partition, it is giving a great deal of autonomy to the three republics".

The Bosnian presidency explicitly rejected Friday any proposal that would divide the republic along ethnic lines.

Owen said the Serbs and Croats had made progress in drawing up maps of the future Bosnian state. However he said it was up to the three sides, Serb, Croat and the mainly-Moslem government, to decide whether they wanted to pursue the Geneva negotiations on the former Yugoslavia.

Owen, along with U.N. mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg, joined the talks an hour after they began.

The E.C. and U.N. mediators were to inform the Bosnian presidency of the results of their talks earlier this week with Serbian and Bosnian Serb leaders in Belgrade, and with Croatian and Bosnian Croat leaders in Zagreb.

The presidency was to present the mediators with a new proposal to turn Bosnia-Herzegovina into a federation, Bosnian officials said Friday.

Miro Lasic, a Croat member of the presidency, said earlier that the new plan would mean transforming Bosnia-Herzegovina into a state "half way between a confederation and a federation", adding that it would be premature to speak of a federation.

Lasic said that President Alija Izetbegovic was prepared to make a brief visit to Zagreb if it should prove necessary.

Differences Within Bosnian Presidency Reported

LD1007193593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1857 10 Jul 93

[Text] Zagreb, July 10 (TANJUG)—Eight members of the rump presidency of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, not including Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic, met in Zagreb, capital of Croatia, on Saturday afternoon with the co-chairmen of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg.

Presidency members Mirko Pejanovic and Miro Lasic presented differing stands on the future order of Bosnia-Herzegovina in statements made before the meeting opened.

It was clear that differences existed in the rump Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency when Izetbegovic said on Friday that the presidency had "rejected the plan on a three-way division of the country," after having stated only a day earlier, on Thursday, that a confederal formula could be accepted in order to avoid a war with no end to it.

Pejanovic, a coopted member of the presidency who is not recognized by the Bosnian Serbs as their representative, said that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency would present to Lord Owen and Stoltenberg a joint proposal for Bosnia-Herzegovina to be organized as a federation which would have a common foreign policy, a single monetary unit, and common foundations of the legal and economic systems. The proposal calls for the three constituent nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina to have a council of nations in the federation, in which decisions on vital issues would have to be taken by consensus.

Lasic, who represents Bosnian Croats in the rump presidency, said that the proposals of "Serbian representative Pejanovic are premature" because he said they needed the approval of all three nations. The future state of Bosnia-Herzegovina should be organized on the basis of a principle "half way between a federation and a confederation," Lasic said. He said that views had not been adjusted on the federal proposal and it had been discussed only at the level of groups of experts. Lasic feels that the proposals should be discussed also with Bosnian Serbs in Pale and Banja Luka, so that their position would be known.

Pale and Banja Luka are the administrative centres of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina (RS), a state proclaimed by Bosnian Serbs. RS President Radovan Karadzic and leader of Bosnian Croats Mate Boban have agreed that Bosnia-Herzegovina should be organized as a confederation.

B-H Presidency Reportedly Agrees on Federation

LD1107140593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 11 Jul 93

[Text] Members of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina have unanimously agreed at their session in

Zagreb that Bosnia-Herzegovina be organized as a federation, we have learned during a break in the session.

The idea of a federation was also accepted by the Croatian part of the presidency, although they, as they put it, [words indistinct], but again they do not mention that this is basically the same thing. When the session resumes the number of federal units in the future Bosnia-Herzegovina should be stated clearly. There are in fact suggestions that there should be between three and 18 federal units.

Members of the presidency are also in agreement on the basis for the organization of the federal government. [passage indistinct]

Owen Announces New Summit in Geneva on 12 July

LD1107122293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1140 GMT 11 Jul 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Zagreb, July 11 (TANJUG)—Co-chairman of the international conference on former Yugoslavia Lord Owen said in Zagreb today that conditions have been met for a new meeting of the presidents of Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia and the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Geneva on Monday.

Lord Owen said that Presidents Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia had said they were ready to go to Geneva.

It remains to be seen if Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic will also go and if the rump Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency will agree to this.

Lord Owen made the statement after talks in Zagreb with members of the rump Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and a meeting with Tudjman.

Presidency Agrees To Continue Talks

LD1107143693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1414 GMT 11 Jul 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, July 11 (TANJUG)—Member of the rump Presidency and Prime Minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina Mile Akmedjic on Sunday said that eight of the ten Bosnian Presidency members had agreed that talks on the future of this former Yugoslav republic should continue at the end of next week in Geneva.

As reported by the French news agency AFP, Akmedzic confirmed this at a rump presidency session in Zagreb, which was not attended by President Alija Izetbegovic or commander of the Bosnian Moslem army Rasim Delic. There are no legitimately elected Serbs in the presidency.

The presidency members believe that negotiations should continue, Akmedzic said. He said it was decided that "there should be no discussion today on a confederation or a federation, but only on essential and issues of top priority" for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Member of the rump Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina Miro Lasic said that this body was faced with a most difficult dilemma, to proceed with war or find a peaceful solution to the Bosnian conflict.

"If we are for peace, we must continue to negotiate," Lasic, a Croat representative in the presidency, said last night.

"The Croats have realized this, and that is why they are now negotiating with all sides," Lasic said and added that "it is high time that the Moslem leaders realize that the war will not end without political talks."

President of the constitutional court in Bosnia Kasim Prnka, who is participating in today's consultations, said that eight presidency members had called on Izetbegovic to join them in their work and said that they were expecting him.

The Bosnian Embassy in Zagreb said that Izetbegovic would not come to the Croatian capital today. [passage omitted]

BTA Reviews CSCE Parliamentary Session

AU0907200493 Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Helsinki, July 9 (BTA)—The Parliamentary Assembly of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) completed its regular session.

On the very first day of the session the Bulgarian delegation, led by National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov, presented Bulgaria's well-motivated proposal for giving economic and financial assistance to the countries suffering serious losses in result of strictly observing the UN sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. Backed up by the representatives of Hungary, Greece, Romania, Ukraine, Italy, Belgium and other countries, the Bulgarian proposal was accepted yesterday. It was included in the final texts drawn up by the Committees on Political Affairs, Security, Economic Affairs, Science, Technology and the Environment, a press release of the National Assembly informs.

The Bulgarian proposal is incorporated in the concluding document of the session, the Helsinki Declaration of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly—in the preamble and the first two chapters. In Chapter 1, Items 8 and 20 of the declaration, the CSCE participating countries are urged to insist in the international organizations on the taking of efficient actions aimed to alleviate the economic problems of the countries most badly hit by the imposition of sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

Another aspect of the Bulgarian proposal, further elaborated and supplemented, is included in Chapter 2, which lays stress on the need to provide compensations that would help the countries overcome their economic difficulties and on the need to help along the transition to a market economy and a democratic civil society.

During the Helsinki session of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly, the Bulgarian parliamentary delegation had a number of important political contacts. The head of the delegation, Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov, had talks with Sir Michael Marshall, president of the Interparliamentary Union, and with the delegations of the Republic of Macedonia and Greece. He also attended the meeting of representatives of the Liberal Parties in the CSCE participating countries. Mr. Stefan Savov, floor leader of the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces, took part in the conference of Christian Democratic and Democratic Parties. The parliamentary coalition led by the Bulgarian Socialist Party, represented by its floor leader, Prof. Nora Ananieva, became co-founder of the groups of the Socialist and Social Democratic Parties participating in the CSCE. Prof. Ananieva was elected a member of the group for work coordination and preparations for the next session of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly in Vienna in 1994.

Business Parties Sign Regional Agreement

AU0907131493 Prague CTK in English 1447 GMT 7 Jul 93

[Text] Budapest July 7 (CTK)—Representatives of Czech, Slovak and Hungarian business circles signed an agreement here today designed to improve contacts among entrepreneurs and businessmen of the three countries.

The agreement was signed by representatives of Hungary's Liberal Civic Union-Entrepreneurs' Party, the Party of Private Entrepreneurs and Small Traders of Slovakia, and the Party of Entrepreneurs, Small Traders and Farmers of the Czech Republic.

The Hungarian party's chairman, Peter Zwack, told journalists after the signing that for all entrepreneurs in the region, the creation of a functioning regional market as well as an orientation toward the West was necessary for their existence. He added that the three parties signing the agreement hoped to contribute to cooperation among tens of thousands of small businessmen in the three countries by acting as a go-between. The parties also intend to found a bank with private capital which would support business activity in the region.

Slovakia, Hungary Submit Gabcikovo Issue to Court

LD0907183693 Prague CTK in English 1356 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] The Hague, July 9 (CTK)—Slovakia and Hungary have officially handed the International Court of Justice in The Hague their dispute over the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project on the Danube, the court announced today. On July 2 both parties gave the United Nations' highest legal authority the text of a compromise which was signed on April 7 in Brussels, in which they undertook to take the dispute to The Hague. The court is to decide whether Hungary had the right to unilaterally interrupt work on the construction of the project, and whether on the other hand the former Czechoslovakia had the right in November 1991 to resort to the provisory solution and to put the system into operation in October 1992. The court also has to establish the legal consequences of Hungary's abrogation in 1992 of a treaty from 1977.

Talks With Romania No Threat to Greece

AU0907170093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] In the campaign of misinformation, the Greek mass media state that President Berisha intrudes and incites divisions in the relations between Romania and Greece.

Commenting on these statements, the spokesman of the president of the republic stresses that in the meeting with the Romanian foreign minister, expressing his desire and determination to develop friendly relations with Romania, President Berisha stressed that multilateral treatments and multinational efforts to resolve problems are in the interest of peace and stability in the Balkans. Relations between Romania and Greece were not discussed at all in this meeting. The conversation only stressed that these two countries, or precisely their autocephalous churches, maintain different stances toward the Albanian Autocephalous Church. Thus, the Romanian foreign minister was told that Romania has not made any effort to appoint Orthodox priests in the Albanian Autocephalous Church and it is absurd to think that by stressing and assessing this reality in Albanian-Romanian relations, the president arouses divisions in Romanian-Greek relations.

Report on Refugees Deported From Kakavije 9 Jul

AU1007170393 Tirana ATA in English 1015 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Tirana, July 10 (ATA)—It is the third day that in the Kakavije border point the number of the Albanian refugees ousted from Greece has not changed perceptibly. About 280 people returned until July 9 at 1900 [1700 GMT] hrs. There are no cases of maltreatment and torn passports.

The citizens normally pass in this border point.

Credit Agreements Signed With World Bank

AU1007201493 Tirana ATA in English 0810 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Tirana, July 9 (ATA)—Two agreements of credit for development were signed between the World Bank and Albania in Washington on July 7, 1993. Mr. Kemal Dervish, director in the World Bank, signed for the this bank and Roland Bimo, Albanian ambassador in Washington, signed for the Albanian party.

These two agreements are worth 27,200,000 SDR (unit used by the World Bank) which is nearly 35 million dollars. One of the credits accorded to Albania is that from the International Development Association and the World Bank to be used in the improvement of transportation.

The other agreement is that of the credit for the sector of agriculture, which envisages technical assistance, qualification, and equipment.

In the speech on the occasion, Mr. Kemal Dervish thanked Albanian authorities for their commitments in a rapid completion of these agreements. He mentioned the achievements of Albania in the financial policy and in the observation of the agreements signed with IMF. The correctness of the Albanian Government in the work with international financial institutions has led to a considerable increase of the projects of these institutions in Albania. As a result of successful cooperation between the World Bank and Albania, contributions of other countries for Albania has also increased.

Mr. Dervish voiced the opinion of specialists of the World Bank, who have been involved in activities in Albania, that on the basis of the development Albania has made so far, it has all opportunities to reach successes in the stability of the economy.

Zhelev 'Greatly Worried' About Draskovic

AU0907164393 Sofia BTA in English 1535 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Sofia, July 9 (BTA)—Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev is greatly worried about the state of health of Vuk and Danica Draskovic. Having heard the latest news that Vuk Draskovic's health is drastically failing, the Bulgarian president joins the numerous statesmen, politicians and public figures from all over the world who insist that urgent measures be taken to find a reasonable and just way of rescuing him, the President's Press Office informed.

The tragedy of the two opposition members is a serious test for the authorities in Belgrade and the respect for human rights and freedoms in Bulgaria's western neighbour, the president states. He hopes that common sense and humanism will prevail over political bias and ambition and that Vuk and Danica Draskovic will be released.

Berov Answers Questions on Embargo, Turkey

AU0907131693 Sofia BTA in English 1126 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Sofia, July 9 (BTA)—Friday is question time in the Bulgarian National Assembly.

The Ministries of the Interior and Defence have no information on the police contingent in Ruse (on the Danube) engaging in intelligence gathering, said Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, answering an MP's question. The contingent in question controls the Yugo-embargo under a memorandum with the Western European Union. "The Interior Ministry does not know which of the policemen are from the former GDR and which have been trained in the former USSR, but we have reason to believe that even if they have inquired about their fellow students, this in itself does not imply a violation of Bulgaria's national sovereignty and security," the prime minister said.

Prof. Berov said that the Posts and Telecommunications Committee must check the legal grounds for the relaying of Turkish TV programmes on Bulgarian territory and if violations are detected, the case will be referred to the investigating authorities. The prime minister was answering an MP's disclosure that in the campaign for a local by-election, one candidate canvassed voters on a Turkish TV channel, using a language other than the official one in Bulgaria, which contravenes the electoral law.

Three hundred Bulgarian enterprises are slated for privatization in 1993, Prime Minister Berov said, answering another MP's question.

Asked about a press report in June, according to which a foreign lightly armed unit was engaged in intelligence gathering on Bulgarian territory, Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov said that counterintelligence chief Arlin Antonov had not ordered the regional police directorates to supply information to that unit. Mr. Mikhaylov said further on that British and U.S. Embassy officials visited the National Intelligence Service in connection with organized crime control at the international level. Bulgaria has cooperation agreements with 14 countries in Europe and Asia and maintains direct contacts for the effort to combat the illicit trafficking in drugs, arms and strategic raw materials.

Mr. Valentin Karabashev, deputy prime minister and minister of trade, said answering a question that Bulgaria stands to gain from continued lumbering cooperation with the Republic of Komi despite the negative results in 1992. Bulgaria has offered the Russian Government to allow Komi direct reexport to third countries, but no reply has been received yet from Russia and Komi.

The Kremikovtsi Iron and Steel Works (near Sofia) lost 705 million leva and accrued 716 million leva in interest on long-term loans in 1992. In the first quarter of this year, the enterprise showed a loss of 178 million leva, Prime Minister Berov said, asked by an MP about the prospects of the Kremikovtsi Works. An analysis shows that the enterprise earns less from its output sales than it spends on producing this output, and Kremikovtsi is running steadily into debt. A working group has been set up with the Ministry of Industry to analyze and evaluate the technological, economic and financial condition of the enterprise, the prime minister said.

Science and Education Minister Marko Todorov said, answering an MP's question about the study of Russian in Bulgarian schools, that a minimization or discrimination of any of the foreign languages is out of the question. The effective curriculum provides fine opportunities for the study of a foreign language of the learners' choice, the minister said.

Berov Receives U.S. Congressman Lancaster

AU0907201693 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Sofia, July 9 (BTA)—Prime Minister Lyuben Berov today met with U.S. Congressman Martin Lancaster, who has been visiting this country since July 6 at the invitation of the Atlantic Club, the Government Press Office said.

Mr. Lancaster thanked Prof. Berov for the wonderful reception and the cooperation which made his visit very fruitful. According to Mr. Lancaster, Bulgaria has definitely taken the road of democracy and a market economy. He said this country can be proud of many things. We have been playing the game of self-government for 200 years and we haven't attained a perfect democracy and economy yet, the guest said. You have a friend in the U.S. Congress in me, Mr. Lancaster said. As a representative of the Armed Services House Standing Committee, he stressed that bilateral contacts in the military area will strengthen, a representative of the Government Press Office said.

During his visit, which ends tomorrow, Mr. Lancaster was received by President Zhelyu Zhelev and met with the ministers of defence and the interior and MP's. In Varna and Sopot he visited industrial enterprises and military installations.

At his meeting with President Zhelev on July 7, Mr. Lancaster said, among other things, that it is important for Bulgaria to continue the trend and policy of alliance not only with the United States but with the other Western countries as well. He said that after his return to the United States, he would share his better understanding of Bulgaria's problems with his fellow congressmen, which would contribute to their better attitude to Bulgaria, a country with a strategic location in a strategic part of the world.

Bikov, Albanian Minister Sign Agreement

AU1107135393 Tirana ATA in English 1808 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Tirana, July 11 (ATA)—A delegation of the Ministry of Industry, Mining Resources, and Energy led by Abdyl Xhaja, [Albanian] minister of industry, mining resources, and energy, is on an official visit to Bulgaria invited by the Bulgarian counterpart, Rumen Bikov.

The two delegations discussed the most effective cooperation between the industrial enterprises of the two countries. Both parties stressed that it is quite possible to develop bilateral cooperation in the field of geology and intensive copper processing, electronics, house appliance production and farm tools, chemical industry, and glass and pane industry.

The two ministers signed the memorandum on the economic, industrial, and technical-scientific cooperation between the two countries. The Albanian minister had separate meetings with the Bulgarian deputy prime minister and the minister of transportation.

Romanians Arrest Empty Bulgarian Vessel

AU0907184693 Sofia BTA in English 1531 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Ruse, July 9 (BTA)—At the Jerdap-2 Lock forty-eight hours ago, the Romanian authorities arrested the Hungary-bound Bulgarian tugboat Petur Karaminchev with four empty lighters, the Bulgarian River Shipping Authority said today.

This happened after early yesterday morning the crew was cleared to continue upstream by embargo control teams in Vidin and Calafat. A wire to the river shipping authority by the tugboat's skipper Svetlozar Kosev said embargo control officers checked the ship again at noon yesterday. They told him it had been cleared by mistake in Vidin/Calafat and showed him a fax from Bucharest ordering the ship's arrest until a clearance was received from the Committee on Sanctions in Brussels. Although the ship has empty vessels in tow, it was ordered to throw anchor at the 866-kilometre mark until a clearance from "the higher authorities" is received.

According to the Bulgarian River Shipping Authority, this is the latest blatant case of an arrest of a Bulgarian ship carrying no goods at all. The demurrage losses amount to 960 dollars a day, excluding fuel. The Bulgarian authorities suspect the same may happen to the homeward bound Khristo Botev tugboat, which tomorrow leaves the Hungarian port of Mohacs with four empty barges.

SDS Reportedly Plans No-Confidence Motion

AU1107134793 Sofia BTA in English 1557 GMT 10 Jul 93

[From BTA press review]

[Text] Sofia, July 10 (BTA)—"On July 14, the parliamentary faction of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) will move before the National Assembly a vote of no confidence in Prof. Berov's cabinet over the scandal concerning the so-called unmade government decision on partial suspension of Bulgaria's foreign debt interest payments and the ensuing opportunities for speculative deals to the detriment of national interests," writes OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK. Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev did not deny the possibility that the situation may be used for financial scoops, but said that in his view, this was not deliberate, the article notes further on. It is quite realistic that the situation may acquire a disastrously nasty shade for the government if the allegations are proved that at present Bulgarian companies and private individuals own between 1,300 million and 1,800 million U.S. dollars of the country's foreign debt, comments the author of the item Rumyana Strugarova.

The motivation of the censure vote has not yet been specified, says Miss Virzhiniya Velcheva, a ranking SDS MP, quoted by TRUD in the same connection. One possible occasion was the protest against the "recommunization of the Bulgarian countryside," already expressed in a SDS declaration. Mr. Emil Kapudaliev MP of the SDS insisted that a vote of no confidence in Berov be asked for the recent raid by police commandos on the national television building. According to TRUD, Miss Velcheva categorically ruled out a "vote of no confidence on account of the government's overall policy," as this would deny the SDS the opportunity to move another censure vote for six months, should the cabinet survive this one.

Yordanov Comments on Results of CSCE Session

AU1107135093 Sofia BTA in English 1455 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Sofia, July 10 (BTA)—The final document of the second session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, held

in Helsinki, included the proposals tabled by the Bulgarian parliamentary delegation, National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov, head of the delegation, said on his return here today.

"The political part of the way was covered by the Bulgarian parliamentarians," he added. "Europe and the world, in the face of the CSCE, give their support to the just demands of those who are affected by the strict observance of the embargo and the sanctions against the former Yugoslavia. What remains to be done is for the governments of the respective countries to identify specific forms for loss compensation. We did what depended on us," Mr. Yordanov said.

"No unfavourable mention of Bulgaria was heard throughout the session," the head of parliament emphasized.

Among his meetings in Helsinki, Mr. Yordanov singled out his talks with the president of the Interparliamentary Union Michael Marshall and with the speaker of the Finnish Parliament Ilka Suominen. He expressed satisfaction with the contacts established with the leadership of the delegation of the Republic of Macedonia, who thanked Bulgaria for the support. Mr. Yordanov is also pleased with the meetings with the Greek representatives. "These talks concerned mainly Balkan problems and the possibility for their peaceful settlement through an activation of the role of the Balkan countries," he added.

Government Plans To Protect Black Sea Coast

AU0907200393 Sofia BTA in English 1806 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Sofia, July 9 (BTA)—"Bulgaria's Black Sea coast is the first area drawing attention from the Ministries of the Environment and of Territorial Development and Construction, which are going to work out a special law. The first stage is the coastal development and protection ordinance, intended to regulate land use and development," First Deputy Territorial Development Minister Petko Evrev told a press conference today. The ordinance was passed by the government on June 20.

"A statutory act is necessary in connection with the changes in the way the land is used," Mr. Evrev said. "3,000 ha [hectares] have been built up by the holiday-making industry, which creates a danger for the environment," he said.

"The government this year has budgeted 74 million leva for the protection of the Black Sea environment, which will, basically, be spent on building waste-treatment facilities," Deputy Environment Minister Branimir Natov said. The World Bank has granted 340,000 dollars for the protection of the Bulgarian Black Sea coast, officials told the press.

Kalvoda Interviewed on Territorial Division

AU0907152293 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 8 Jul 93 pp 1, 12

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Jan Kalvoda by Jiri Sindelar; place and date not given: "Small Regions Can Fall Prey to Neighboring Countries"]

[Text] Jan Kalvoda, deputy prime minister and chief of the Legislative Office, says that if the bills connected to the reform of the state administration and self-administration are to pass on time, it is impossible to change the borders of districts. He is also afraid that if there is a large number of regions or lands, self-administrative units could fall prey to neighboring countries.

We asked him to what extent he is accepting—while working on these bills—other opinions on the future territorial division, and how much he is affected in his work by Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] standpoints, as the chairman of the Alliance.

[Kalvoda] I can sincerely say that the ODA positions on that matter are being ignored during the work of the Legislative Office on the documents regarding the territorial division. These documents are under the comments procedure and will be implemented depending on the results of this procedure. This is quite intentional. As early as at the beginning of this year, I arrived at the conclusion that if the result of the work of the Legislative Office is to be successful, this work must become a certain synthesis of opinions of a larger number of parliamentary parties and representatives of cities and villages. In no case are those documents party documents, and in some cases, they differ from the ODA standpoints.

[Sindelar] The ODA suggested the so-called two-level symmetric model for state administration and self-administration, which would practically mean abolishing the borders of district offices and establishing a new level, somewhere between community and today's district. Will the Legislative Office pay attention to this opinion?

[Kalvoda] We must distinguish two sides to this problem. On one hand, it is necessary to fix some goal to which the reform of the state administration and self-administration should be directed, and, on the other hand, we are responsible for the continuity and efficient functioning of the state administration. We should implement all the changes early enough, before the communal elections.

[Sindelar] Are you in favor of the preservation of the existing borders of regions?

[Kalvoda] Yes. There is not enough time to move the borders of the regions. As soon as we cast doubts on one of the regions, or the location of a regional town, a large number of other cities would consider it an injustice, and would require changes, too. The problem would become a political problem, and it would not be possible to find a solution in a short time.

[Sindelar] It follows from your material that you are not satisfied with the current functioning of the principal article on the state administration and self-administration, that is, communities. Why?

[Kalvoda] As regards communities, the situation is shocking and inconvenient, since we have more than 6,000 communities, while some of them do not have more than 20 or 50 residents. In no case could such small communities be engaged in state administration. The state, however, is a guarantor of the fact that every citizen will have the same legal right, that is, the same access to state administration. Under the current conditions, the state is not able to ensure that.

[Sindelar] What are you suggesting then? A new division of communities according to the unsuccessful system of central villages, or some kind of a temporary period of gradual merging of communities?

[Kalvoda] I am quite sure that if the communities were forcibly integrated by the state by decree, it would provoke irrational, but massive resistance. Despite the fact that I am sorry about this fact—since this is one of the principal obstacles in the streamlining of the public administration—I am convinced that we can think about introducing some mechanisms that would support voluntary integration of today's communities in larger units, that would gradually become the basic level of the state administration and selfadministration.

[Sindelar] Let us return to the problem of regions and lands. If we disregard considerations about the optimal number of lands, we can see the efforts of some cities to become centers of future regions. However, if we accepted the demands of all those cities, then there would not be ten regions in the Czech Republic, but 30, or even more....

[Kalvoda] I hope that in the government coalition there will not be enough populists who would play on these emotions. There are cities that are sending their emissaries in all directions, and collecting signatures of mayors of cities and communities asking them under which regional or land city [zemske mesto] they want to belong. It is exactly here that the state must push through its own concept.

[Sindelar] In your opinion, what are the main criteria according to which borders of future regions should be defined?

[Kalvoda] The very often mentioned catchment function of a certain region is not the only criterion. I would personally take into consideration historical criteria: communications—that is, it is important where people are accustomed to going. Since I am not an expert in this sphere, however, I gladly would learn from the work of demography and geography experts.

[Sindelar] Apart from the opinions of experts on demography, there are also political arguments. They apply to various dangers facing the stability of the future state, which could arise from the large number of regional units. In small regions, they fear extremist regional particularism, a trend to more mergers, and superiority of city agglomerates over the countryside within the framework of regions. Some even fear that small border regions could not defend themselves against political influence from Germany.

[Kalvoda] There are roughly three models for the future regional or land setup of the Czech Republic. The first one is based on the former regional division, that is, eight regions or lands, the second one is based on eight to 15 units, and the third model is based on 28 regions, which basically means two or three districts within one region. I personally believe that we will adopt something in between. Between eight or 15. I am personally suggesting 12 or 13 regions. It is irrelevant whether we will have eight or 12 regions. With that number, all regions will have the same powers, they cannot have different powers. This is why I am ruling out any particularism in that case, but I am not underestimating it.

One of the presented arguments—which causes me to ponder—is that border regions could fall easy prey to neighbors. It is a serious problem. I believe no one is aware of the seriousness of this problem. Nevertheless, I believe that a balanced and optimally organized structure of public administration is able to face this threat.

In case there are some 12 regions or lands, there is no threat that city agglomerations would prevail over villages during elections. The density of the population is high in the Czech Republic, to prevent it.

Havel's Stand on Arms Production Criticized

AU0907145793 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Slovak 8 Jul 93 p 3

[Commentary by Stefan Hrib: "The New Vaclav Havel"]

[Text] Last week's meeting at Smolenice Castle between the Czech and Slovak presidents has confirmed something that was already well known, that is, arriving at a formula for any interrepublican agreements and treaties not put forward by the Slovak prime minister is futile. Czech politicians should come to a single conclusion from Meciar's irrational rejection of the Smolenice talks—they must themselves draft in detail all the principal treaties they want to conclude with the Slovak Republic in the future and then offer their authorship to Vladimir Meciar. A similar experience with the treaties on dividing the state and the Smolenice failure should now be enough.

Nevertheless, Smolenice brought something new. That something was contained in a single sentence uttered by Vaclav Havel in reply to a question from me on whether he will personally denounce the production of tanks in the Czech Republic just as he did not so long ago in the former federal Slovakia. Vaclav Havel—who just recently described arms production and the profit the state makes from it as immoral—gave a reply in Smolenice that surprised some of those present. After a couple of seconds of embarrassed silence and after some prompting from Spacek [the president's spokesman], an obviously uncertain Vaclav Havel said that he had only been opposed to the production of obsolete military hardware and to its export to dangerous regions.

Havel's (or Spacek's?) reply contains two fundamental errors. The first (the lesser) error: Havel did not answer the question pertaining to his stance on the future production of tanks in the Czech Republic. The second error: Vaclav Havel did not tell the truth. It would be possible to compile a complete list of his statements in which he comes out absolutely unambiguously against special production and the economic "advantages" of selling tanks (obsolete or modern) and in which he expresses equally clearly the moral "advantage" to be gained from not selling them.

The situation that arose after the question and answer was a new experience for me—the representatives from independent Slovakia praised me for asking the question, while, on the contrary, the Czech representatives showed their displeasure. The two unseemly reactions were, at the same time, characteristic—satisfaction at Havel's defeat was palpable on the Slovak side, while unwillingness and a disinclination to measure the words of a politician by moral criteria were palpable on the Czech side.

However, there is, in essence, something else about the whole "incident"—the recognition that the "Vaclav Havel 1989" organization is completely different from the "Vaclav Havel 1993" organization.

The newer organization is pragmatic, advantageous for the Czech Republic's future prosperity, and, clearly, politically mature. It is comparable with its world competitors. However, the "Havel 1989" organization had something that made it unique and unrivalled. The organization itself called this "Living in Truth."

Ministry Doubts Gulf War Illness Claims

AU0907193793 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 8 Jul 93 pp 1, 2

["(km)"-signed report: "Doubts About Mustard Gas and Sarin in Iraq"]

[Text] Prague—The Defense Ministry has expressed doubt that, during the Persian Gulf war, the Czechoslovak antichemical unit measured concentrations of the toxic substances mustard gas and sarin. "There is no record that the unit detected the presence of these substances," said Defense Ministry Spokesman Zdenek Borkovec.

The spokesman confirmed, however, that in January 1991, following an allied bombardment, an Iraqi chemical dump was damaged and that sulphuric acid and phosphoric acid, which are used in the production of smoke cartridges, were released into the atmosphere.

Former Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky was not, according to his own testimony, informed that the Czechoslovak unit had detected mustard gas and sarin in the atmosphere. At the same time, he said that the unit had measured concentrations of certain chemical warfare substances.

A senior commanding officer with the Czechoslovak antichemical unit has repeatedly told us, however, that their group detected increased concentrations of mustard gas and sarin in the atmosphere and that the two substances were released following the bombardment of the Iraqi chemical munitions dump at Mutvana. He also emphasized that the military secret service must have the records at its disposal.

A spokesman for the Czech war veterans told MLADA FRONTA DNES last Wednesday [30 June] that the soldiers could have been affected by mustard gas and sarin during military operations in Kuwait. They believe the Defense Ministry cannot officially confirm their information, because it does not have the American side's agreement to do so.

Zdenek Borkovec also told us that the sulphuric and phosphoric acids were identified by the Czechoslovak chemists in trace-element concentrations. "However, this was in areas where our units were not deployed and, therefore, they did not come into contact with them," he added.

The spokesman emphasized that, according to a statement issued by the Army Health Service, none of the former members of the Czechoslovak unit in the Persian Gulf has yet reported that he has had health problems associated with his presence in the Gulf. This was his reaction to the statements made by Czech war veterans that they also now have health problems like the U.S. and British veterans.

Colonel Petr Miko of the Army Health Service has informed us, however, that one Czech soldier who took part in Operation Desert Storm is suffering from psychological problems. According to Miko, this soldier cannot return to a normal life.

Parliament Adopts Law on Relations With FRY

LD1007173593 Prague CTK in English 1649 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Prague July 10 (CTK)—The Czech parliament Chamber of Deputies today adopted a law which changes legislation of the former Czechoslovak parliament on measures in relation to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

The law forbids any financial and other services to be provided by Czechs to physical and legal persons with the aim of starting business in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). The ban does not apply to telecommunications, postal services, legal assistance and services necessary for humanitarian and other special purposes. However, a licence must be issued so that these services can be provided. In granting the licence Czech authorities must respect all commitments ensuing from the Czech Republic's membership in the United Nations (UN).

The law forbids the entrance of merchant ships sailing under the Czech flag into the FRY's territorial waters, with the exception of distress or on the basis of a permission.

Under the law, the participation of persons or groups representing the FRY in sports events taking place on Czech territory is banned as well as any activities leading to scientific and technological cooperation, cultural exchanges or visits in which individuals or groups officially backed by the FRY or representing this republic take part.

Imports from, exports to and transit of goods and products via Croatia's areas, where the U.N. peacekeeping forces are stationed, and in the areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina controlled by Bosnian Serbs will be made possible only with the consent of the Croatian or the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government. Humanitarian-aid shipments, including medical equipment and food distributed by international humanitarian organisations, will be an exception.

The new law extends the internal legislation by measures, not applied thus far, which ensue from the U.N. Security Council Resolutions No. 787 of November 1992 and No. 820 of April 1993 and which seek to create conditions for a peaceful solution to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

The law also extends the current legislation by measures which were not included in the former federal parliament legal norm, due to the division of powers between the federal and the Czech and Slovak republics' bodies in the former Czechoslovakia (it ceased to exist in December 1992). The legal norm legalised the adoption of sanctions in the areas of trade, finance and transport, but did not touch the spheres of scientific-technological, cultural and sports relations.

The Czech Government approved the imposition of sanctions, in line with the U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 820 and the previous ones, last April.

Passes Law on Illegality of Former Regime

LD0907202193 Prague CTK in English 1937 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Prague, July 9 (CTK)—The Czech parliament today passed a law declaring the illegitimacy of the former communist regime and defining the status of

opposition against it. 129 deputies voted for the law and 34 against it. There were three abstentions. Opinions expressed during debate were in favour of the law, apart from those of the Left Bloc group of deputies.

Education Minister Peter Pitha (Christian Democratic Party) said that the former communist regime had damaged society as a whole. It caused values to wither, it ruined the economy and it dealt a heavy blow to the environment. The crime of the communist regime was the cult of averageness, which always pushes society lower and lower, he said.

Vladimir Rezac (Left Bloc), speaking against the law, said it divided people into two groups. Communists, including former members of the party, would have fewer rights and would be treated in a degrading manner, he said.

New Communist Splinter Group Announced

LD0907191993 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] The National Committee of the noncommunist Party of the Democratic Left [Strana Demokraticke Levice, SDL] is to officially register the party's changed name. It will do so probably on Monday [12 July], committee members told journalists today.

[Unidentified correspondent] Josef Mecl, chairman of the SDL preparatory committee, said that the party has come about as a result of the split within the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [CPBM] when the long-standing rift within the party came to a head at its third congress [26-27 June].

The CPBM continues to divide and its internal differentiation is an ongoing process. We shall therefore strive for the rational, reformist trend to find its place in the fold of the Party of the Democratic Left, Josef Mecl said. He also pointed out that relations between the CPBM leadership and the SDL preparatory committee are far from constructive at the moment. Mecl said the communists' leaders were taken aback and had to cope with the dubious victory they had at the CPBM third congress.

As for the initiative of some deputies who tried to found a left-bloc party with voluntary membership, said Zdenek Masopust, member of the PDL preparatory committee, they are people pursuing a specific interest who are sitting on the fence while desperately trying to bridge the gap between the CPBM and the SDL.

National Bank Devalues Currency by 10 Percent

LD0907174393 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] In accordance with the powers given to it by law, the National Bank of Slovakia has decided to change the exchange rate of the Slovak koruna against freely convertible currencies by 10 percent as of 10 July.

The Bank Council reached this decision after a detailed assessment of macroeconomic indicators and their expected development in the next period. The decision is also in harmony with recommendations by the mission of the International Monetary Fund.

The information was given to the Press Agency [of the Slovak Republic] today by Juraj Matejovsky, spokesman of the National Bank of Slovakia.

Toth Discusses Bank Insolvency, Securities Market

AU0907210193 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Jul 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Finance Minister Julius Toth by E. Herzogova in Bratislava "at the end of last week": "The Capital Horizon Clearing Up?"]

[Text] Of the barrage of businessmen's questions, Slovak Finance Minister Toth did not avoid a single one. The results of the IMF mission and the recovery of the financial flow and the Slovak economy were the prime topics at the meeting of the Contact Business Club in Bratislava at the end of last week.

There was no dearth of curious questions. They focused on the state budget deficit. The expenditures must be reduced and the revenues boosted. The measures aimed at the implementation of the principal condition—to increase the revenues—will not please small and medium businesses, and not only because of the proposed increase in the value added tax. When will the governor of the National Bank of Slovakia assume his office? "As soon as he is elected by the parliament and appointed by the president," the finance minister said, and immediately added that this will probably not happen at the next session of the National Council of the Slovak Republic. Those present did not learn the details of the planned introduction of an import surcharge, but they were mollified by an assertion that it will apply particularly to products that are not manufactured in Slovakia. The rate of inflation was also mentioned—and according to the minister's answer, it should not exceed 13.5 percent—the completion of the Mochovce nuclear power plant and whether it actually is going to be finished, and other flashes on the "lugubrious" capital horizon.

How the (enterprise) debts are to be cleared, whether and when will the minister take a stand on the "stock market dispute"—those then were the questions, Julius Toth answered for the HOSPODARSKE NOVINY readers.

[Herzogova] Recently, the debt clearance and outstanding claim credits have become a subject of numerous discussions. Do you believe that the injection will be "effective" and will it help to eliminate various degrees of insolvency in our economy?

[Toth] We are dealing with the insolvency issue by means of a system of several closely connected steps. The first step is the purchase of outstanding claims for which the enterprise is not responsible—that already is "in the works." The second step comprises the clearance of debts by mutual credit, and the third is a significant increase in financial discipline. I see the fourth step as the introduction of bills of exchange as a means of payment, and the fifth as making the money-flow more transparent by enterprises having only one account in each bank.

[Herzogova] What about the "remainder?"

[Toth] We will talk about it later, as bankruptcies will begin to take their toll. Creditor boards can be established and decide whether the enterprise is to be closed, how a stricter financial discipline is to be implemented there—in other words, crucial moments are to be expected in the enterprise management.

[Herzogova] So, Minister, you belong to the people who expect the creditors to revive the almost dead enterprises?

[Toth] Every creditor wants his money back, and each of them thinks about how much he can recover—whether 20, 10, or 60 percent. I am convinced that, quite often, the insolvency is a result of the lack of financial discipline, and can be solved by stricter rules in that sphere. After all, there is a difference between the enterprise halting production because of an insufficient market for its goods, and.... Numerous enterprises that were on the verge of bankruptcy and no markets just six months ago are, after a change of management, in a completely different position. The new management found markets, it emerged that the previous management was not even looking. Therefore, I expect a turn for the better in many instances just by the command's intervention.

[Herzogova] New people, new markets, new products—is that what you say?

[Toth] Apparently, even the doors to the Eastern markets are slowly opening for us. The volume of trade with Russia in the first half of 1993 almost equals the total trade in 1992, i.e., our former business territories are being recovered. The payments in this sphere are "conducted" in convertible currencies. We are not exporting by clearing or other methods....

[Herzogova] Hence, we are returning to the markets we left?

[Toth] In some instances, we are returning, in others, we managed to maintain our contacts and develop them now. We are close to these markets, and are able to

produce goods that other firms—even from the American continent—offer there (they came cleverly after us). The problem now is to reach an agreement with these Western contractors so that they choose our capable enterprises and, by means of manufacturers in Slovakia, cut their production and transport cost.

[Herzogova] Let us return to the "fifth step" you mentioned—making the financial flow more transparent. Will that not produce antagonism and also concern over excessive control on the part of the state?

[Toth] In the developed countries it is customary to have an account in just one bank. If we speak about financial discipline, we cannot claim that banks have nothing to do with it. It is a natural request on the capital market that the financial flow be made more transparent as some rules of the game apply here.

[Herzogova] The Slovak market is rather small for the operation of three exchanges, and therefore a reduction was proposed by a merger between the RM System [trading with coupon privatization shares] and the Bratislava Securities Exchange [BCPB] on the one hand, and the existence of the Bratislava Option Market [BOB.] without integration of the spot and derivative markets, on the other hand. What is your opinion regarding the problem that awaits your decision?

[Toth] As is, I believe, a good custom in this country, the experts hold two definite views on the subject. I have not yet made the final decision, as I neither discussed the situation with both sides nor weighed all the pros and cons of the two options. I did not agree to a unilateral solution, as I prefer such an approach as would help the emerging securities market. I appreciate that both the RM System and the BOB established themselves rather quickly, while the BCPB took a bit longer. It lost its advantage and allowed the competition to establish itself.

[Herzogova] So, when can we expect a definite decision?

[Toth] By the end of July.

National Council Passes Foreign Currency Law

LD0907212293 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Today's afternoon sitting of the 20th session of the National Council of the Slovak Republic was devoted to laws dealing with economic issues: amendments to the law on state enterprises and to the law on foreign currencies. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] At their morning session today, the deputies passed draft laws on changes in the area of social security concerning old age pensions, child allowances, and other social measures. The drafts were adopted only after a lively debate that was addressed by several deputies.

Next on the agenda was a government draft amendment to the law on foreign currencies. Finance Minister Julius Toth said that the draft does not interfere with the payment agreement with the Czech Republic. Among other things, the draft says that exports and imports of valid Slovak bank notes and coins—and their transfers to and from foreign countries—are allowed only on the basis of foreign currency permits issued by the National Bank. The same applies to the exports and imports of shares issued in Slovak currency, except to the export and import of such shares outside Slovakia.

The purpose of the amendment is the conclusion of the sale of shares obtained in coupon privatization. It means that Slovak investment coupon holders are able to assert their property rights, ensuing from their ownership of shares in the Czech Republic, through transfers. For example, this can be done without foreign currency permits issued by the Slovak National Bank via the stock exchange or via other stock markets. Following certain amendments, the deputies passed the law.

Official on Signs of Economic Recovery

LD0807152393 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 8 Jul 93

[Text] (Rudolf Krc), the chairman of the Slovak Statistical Office said in an interview for Slovak radio that the performance of the Slovak economy showed signs of recovery in May 1993. The volume of manufacturing in industry and construction and freight transport, for instance, continued to grow.

Unemployment has remained a stable 12 percent in May. Consumer prices in May grew by only half of the increase in April. Food prices fell compared with April. Retail turnover has fallen, but this may be due to the drop in food prices.

The 1993 harvest is set to show a yield drop of 10-20 percent.

The total volume of harvested crops is also predicted to drop, although more land has been cultivated. Rape is the only exception.

Kovac Criticizes Radical Cuts in Arms Production

LD0807214993 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 2000 GMT 8 Jul 93

[Excerpts] Slovak President Michal Kovac said during his visit to the Povazie region [area along the River Vah, northwestern Slovakia] today that it was not wise to radically reduce arms production. In our case, we cannot really talk about conversion since conversion is a planned change of the production program from arms to civilian products according to a certain timetable, he said.

If we have had reduced arms production to 30 percent of the pre-1989 production, it would have been acceptable

also from the humane point of view, and would not have had such a tragic impact on our engineering industry. [passage omitted]

In Slovakia, arms production had been reduced to nine percent against 1987 and in Povazska Bystrica they are thinking of halting arms production completely.

Weiss on Majority System in Parliament

LD1107163893 Prague CTK in English 1604 GMT 11 Jul 93

[Text] Prievidza, central Slovakia/Bratislava July 11 (CTK)—The pushing through of a majority system in filling the leading posts in the Slovak parliament will lead to political polarisation, said Slovak Democratic Left Party (SDL) Chairman Peter Weiss in an interview with CTK today.

Unlike the Czech Republic, Slovakia has thus far managed to avoid political polarisation, Weiss said, and added that personal ambitions are behind the effort at introducing the majority system.

Weiss's words came in reaction to yesterday's statement by Slovak Premier and Chairman of the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) Vladimir Meciar. Meciar said that an agreement on the majority system is not yet concluded, but we take as an example the Czech parliament where the system is successfully functioning and is considered democratic. Meciar said this at a press conference in Dubnica Nad Vahom, central Slovakia, after talks with the Slovak National Party (SNS) on creating a coalition.

Weiss said that those who speak about the majority system in the Slovak Parliament had forgotten that when in opposition, they were in favour of proportionate representation which facilitates political agreement in public matters.

Weiss agreed with Meciar's statement that a broad coalition, if created, could fail due to conflicts of interest in privatisation. Also a HZDS-SNS coalition could fail here (in privatisation), he said.

He said that the SDL had unambiguously rejected as unconstitutional a bill on changes in the Slovak legislative body which incited yesterday's HZDS-SNS talks and on which the two parties leaderships had not agreed.

The SDL is the second strongest party, with 28 seats in the 150-seat Slovak Parliament. The ruling HZDS has 66 seats.

* * *

After a session of the SDL Executive Committee in Bratislava yesterday, Weiss said that the current political situation in Slovakia is marked by a deteriorating social, economic and security position of citizens.

In his opinion, the SDL's stand that it is necessary to create a broad coalition government had proven justified.

Yugoslav MiG-21's Reportedly Violate Air Space

LD1107175293 Budapest MTI in English 1742 GMT 11 Jul 93

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—Two Yugoslav MiG-21 planes penetrated 10 kilometres into Hungary's airspace over Szeged on July 9, Friday, between 7.50 and 8.10 pm.

In a statement sent to MTI on Sunday, the Defence Ministry said that Hungary's air defence had observed the aircraft in time, properly performing its alert duty.

Yugoslavia said a training flight was held at the given time. Both Hungary and Yugoslavia are investigating the case.

National Assembly Passes Minority Law

LD0807200493 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 8 Jul 93

[Excerpts] The summary of the government's meeting has just arrived. Here is our reporter Gabor Bankuti:

[Bankuti] Hungary settled a one and a half century's-old debt yesterday when the National Assembly overwhelmingly adopted the bill on the rights of minorities, according to Ferenc Nagy, minister without portfolio, who coordinated the preparation work for eight months. [passage omitted]

According to Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszenszky, the law proves that Hungary is a country with patience toward minorities. No minority law of similar depth has been passed anywhere else, he added. We have no illusions that this action will be reciprocated quickly in other areas where Hungarian minorities are living. Drafters of the bill were not guided by this illusion. We can continue our foreign policy under more favorable circumstances, however, because we have provided evidence that the minority issue is serious in Central Europe, but it is not unsolvable. [passage omitted]

Finance Minister Views Supplementary Budget

LD0807083593 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0445 GMT 8 Jul 93

[Interview with Finance Minister Ivan Szabo by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Reporter] What does it mean that we have a supplementary budget?

[Szabo] I think the fact that we have a supplementary budget and an amended law on value-added tax is of extreme importance for the further functioning of the country. Those people who socially need it or have large families can somewhat be compensated. Moreover, we have been able to create the conditions for a start by 1994, which I think is favorable for the country as well as for an economic growth. In my opinion it is remarkable that possibilities will open up for us to obtain credits and loans which will be the important financing means for further improvement.

[Reporter] Is it really an impressive majority with which the law has been adopted?

[Szabo] Yes, I think so.

Army Develops New Radiation Warning System

LD0907183393 Budapest MTI in English 1340 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Budapest, July 9 (MTI)—Ten minutes is enough for a new nuclear alarm system, developed by the Hungarian Army, to detect any rise in national radiation levels, said Col. Janos Hulej at the presentation of the new system on Friday. AMAR-93, a radiation detection system, uses 50 detector stations in Hungary, which measure background radiation continuously. The data is processed by computer in Budapest, said Hulej, who heads the Army's chemical defence unit. The system will prevent repetition of what happened after the Chernobyl catastrophe in 1986 when outdated equipment failed to show rising radiation levels, he said. Currently, radiation in Hungary was at normal levels. Hulej said a long-term plan to develop chemical defenses had been completed and modern equipment was being tested. The Army was ready to avert chemical attacks although neighbouring countries did not have such weapons, he said.

PSL-PL, RDR Form Coalition

LD1107165693 Warsaw PAP in English 1645 GMT 11 Jul 93

[Text] Warsaw, July 11—Polish Peasant Party-Peasant Agreement (PSL-PL), represented by its Chairman Gabriel Janowski and the Movement for the Republic of Poland (RDR), represented by its leader Jan Olszewski have formed an election coalition called "the Coalition for the Republic of Poland", the spokesmen of the two parties announced on Sunday [11 July].

The coalition might be broadened, provided that its conditions are met, the communique says.

Ministry Says Piracy Threatens MFN Status

LD0907194093 Warsaw PAP in English 1810 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Warsaw, July 9—A Polish Foreign Ministry official on Friday [9 July] warned that the U.S. may deprive Poland of the most-favoured-nations status in view of the lack of protection of authors rights here. In addition, the U.S. may strip Poland of import duty privileges and restore quotas for Polish exports of textiles to the U.S., Zbigniew Lewicki, department director at the ministry said. According to him, the office of the United States trade representative will propose to take steps against Poland in autumn.

Meanwhile, Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski had addressed a letter to the U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher explaining the state of work on the bill on protection of authors rights in Poland, he added. Lewicki recalled that the U.S. authorities had already tolerated this state of affairs for two years. The previous Sejm (lower house) did not finish its work on the draft law so the new parliament will have to do much of the job anew, which will take another two years. American firms estimate their last years losses resulting from various forms of piracy in Poland at 190 million dollars.

Britain To Restore Loan Guarantees

LD0907211393 Warsaw PAP in English 1951 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] London, July 9—Britain's department of trade and industry said in a statement released in London that it will restore the government credit guarantees for exports to Poland. The guarantees, which were stopped in 1982 in response to the introduction of the 1981 martial law, should considerably strengthen the exchange between the two countries. The move has been made to recognize Poland's success in implementing economic reforms programme, the statement reads.

"The decision of the British Government promotes Poland well, that is, it shows British investors that Poland is a reliable partner, and that credits, particularly those connected with investment supplies, can be guaranteed," Romuald Szuniewicz, commercial counsellor at the Polish consulate in London said.

British credits insurer ECGD vowed to make funds available to Poland on the terms typical of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). At stake are medium-term credits for exports of investments, projects and services. "Even if the present terms of guarantees are not so favourable, we may expect a greater interest in Poland on the part of British investors," Szuniewicz said.

Military Agreement Concluded With Russia

WS0907111993 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Jul 93 pp 2, 21

[Report attributed to R.M.: "Last but True"]

[Text] Russia is the last Polish neighbor with which our country has concluded a military cooperation agreement. After more than 40 years of a close military cooperation between the Defense Ministries of the Polish People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic thrust upon us by Moscow, this agreement opens a new stage in the post-communist relations of the two countries. First, the agreement is voluntary, and second, it testifies to the realism of the Polish defensive policy.

On 8 July, Polish and Russian defense ministers, Janusz Onyszkiewicz and Pavel Grachev, signed an "agreement between the Defense Ministries of the Polish Republic and the Russian Federation on bilateral cooperation in the military sphere."

"The agreement that we have signed today concludes the list of military agreements signed with our neighbors," said Minister Onyszkiewicz. "By this," he added, "we clearly show that we want to cooperate with everybody, and have no conflicts with any of our neighbors." According to the Polish agency PAP, commenting on the Moscow agreement, the minister said that Poland wants to cultivate a sense of security for everyone, and contribute to establishing an atmosphere of trust in Europe. This, however, is not possible without a dialogue with Russia, which plays a very important role in maintaining the balance on our continent, and without the participation of which, there can be neither security nor a sense of security. Regardless of the outcome of our legislative elections, stated Onyszkiewicz, every government will maintain the policy of good relations with Russia.

The agreement was concluded for five years and will be automatically prolonged in the next years, unless, of course, its parties terminate it before this term. The

document envisions the collaboration of the defense ministries on disarmament and establishing centers of trust in Europe, technical cooperation, training, exchange of experts, and mutual share of information on air space control.

Speaking about the agreement, Russian Defense Minister Grachev said that it basically deals with ensuring security and cooperation in the Baltic Sea region. He added, however, that he presently sees no possibility of meeting with all of the states from that region because of "certain problems in Russian relations with Latvia and Estonia." In both cases, it involves a legal solution of the Russian minority problem in those countries, which has become especially visible in the Russian-Estonian relations over the last several weeks.

By the end of this year, Poland and Russian will eventually settle the issue of the stationing of Russian troops in our country. General Grachev confirmed that the troops would be withdrawn according to the agreed time schedule, and expressed his satisfaction that this process is moving without major problems and incidents. Thus, the minister indirectly rebuffed the 6 July attack launched by PRAVDA that criticized the most recent incident in the Legnica area, when Polish border and customs officers thoroughly checked the Russian officers.

For the time being, Poland will not purchase Russian weapons, said Minister Onyszkiewicz. At present, all funds earmarked for the purchases of new military equipment will be channeled into the Polish defensive industry, he declared. In the future, Poland will seek new sources of weapons, which does not mean that we will not consider the equipment offered by Russia (80 percent of the equipment of the Polish Armed Forces is made in Russia).

Russo-Japanese Dialogue Noted at G-7 Summit

AU1207105493 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Jul 93 p 1

[Commentary by Jan Rozdzynski: "A New Dialogue?"] [Text] To say that Russia needs and is counting on the support of the West is as obvious nowadays as stating that the security of the West depends on the implementation of reform in Russia. So, it is not surprising that Yeltsin should be present at the summit of "the seven," where everyone is interested in finding solutions that would provide material assistance to the fragile democracy that covers one-sixth of the world's land mass.

But the fact that the Russian president went to Japan also has a completely different—that is, bilateral—dimension, and it may mark the beginning of a new dialogue between Tokyo and Moscow. This is the first time since the war that a Russian head of state has visited the land of the cherry blossom. It is the first time that the Japanese side has stated even before the visit—it was postponed several times—that it will not link the issue of aid to Russia to questions on which the two countries differ. For the first time, the president of Russia talked of the priority character of relations with Japan and of a readiness to discuss "all common problems" as well as of "hope for their peaceful resolution."

These "common problems" are, of course, the Kuriles and, more specifically, the four islands located at the southern end of the archipelago stretching from Kamchatka to Hokkaido. The dispute over who they belong to has been going on for decades, and the argument that Russia, which occupies them, has advanced so far is that important military bases have existed on the islands up to the present day.

However, we should also remember that, as this dialogue unfolds, the participants will include implacable foes in both states.

FDSN Holds National Conference 9-10 July

Iliescu Message to Conference

AU0907144493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1231 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Excerpts] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/7/1993—President Ion Iliescu assesses in his message to the participants in the FDSN [Democratic National Salvation Front] national conference of July 9-10, 1993, that "Romania's transition to a new political and economic system, after the consolidation of the democratic institutions and the mutations come about in the civil society, has entered now an intensive phase, when the changes of content have acquired priority, and the parties are revamping their political offer." [passage omitted]

The FDSN has the responsibility of ruling in a crucial period for the consolidation of democracy and of the state of law, for the destiny of the economic reform and of the process of privatization, for Romania's integration in the structures of Europe and of contemporary civilization.

Ruling in Romania today requires, President Iliescu opines, first of all a coherent set of priorities in the domain of reform, privatization and development of a market economy. While appreciating the fact that a reform strategy was articulated and measures of great complexity have been implemented—such as the elimination of the subsidies and the introduction of the value added tax, the message reads, we cannot help noticing the unequal demarche and some dysfunctions in the economic life, mirrored in difficulties facing the economic agents and especially large categories of citizens.

In order to overcome these difficulties, President Iliescu assesses the FDSN should make of the attraction of the nations' values and competence to the act of ruling a political priority and command. It is high time that, at all social levels, we made of professionalism the first criteria of assessment, of the moral tenure the mainstay of the social confidence we need so much, of discouraging pretense, dishonesty and corruption, a singular point of political action, the message reads.

The FDSN, the message also reads, can be a dynamic and open party, apt to make a critical analysis of its previous experience and overcome the weaknesses and hesitations in its activity of so far.

The chance of Romania's recovery is conditioned, President Iliescu opines, by the negotiation of a wide political and social pact that should consecrate the much coveted national and social conciliation.

Today too, the message reads, I believe in the possibility of such an understanding and I would be glad if the FDSN started a convincing demarche in this respect, launching a concrete and realistic offer of collaboration to the other parties, based on a minimal program that should reflect their common values and targets, their determination to overcome the subjective adversities and rivalries, in order to collaborate in view of the national reconstruction. President Iliescu considers that the FDSN conference should make a thorough analysis of the responsibilities incumbent upon the party for the way how the parliament worked in the outgoing session, as well as for the shortcomings in the executive's activity, shortcomings the FDSN has to assume and remedy through a more consistent involvement in all moments of the ruling. The president also expresses his hope that the phenomenon of corruption will be discussed in all its gravity, and practical measures will be proposed for fighting and eradicating it from the public institutions, from the administration and the sectors of economic activity.

Solcanu Presents Activity Report

AU0907154293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1444 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/7/1993—Democratic National Salvation Front (FDSN) Deputy President Ion Solcanu presented to the FDSN National Conference, on Friday, the report on the FDSN activities since its National Conference of July 1992.

The FDSN leadership's efforts have been structured on two directions, the report shows: On the one hand, the continuation of the actions of organizing, intensifying and diversifying the political activity simultaneously with the electoral campaign. On the other hand, the activity of governing as the main political force in the parliament.

"The FDSN assumed the responsibility of governing Romania in a period which compounded also the errors of the previous governments." The FDSN appreciates the fruitful cooperation with the parties making the current parliamentary majority: the Romanian National Unity Party, the Socialist Party of Labour (successor to the Communist Party), the Greater Romania Party and the Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania. Along with these parties, the FDSN faced "a destabilizing opposition willing to take over the power by all means," the reports says.

The political and organizational evolution of the FDSN, Romania's social and political realities, the mergers achieved, the complexity of the coming tasks are altogether reasons to change the name of the party for a new one which [is] to express the present status of the party and its social democratic doctrine, the report says. Press sources opine the new name would be "the Party of Social Democracy."

Vacaroiu Reports on Progress of Reform

AU0907183093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1635 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/7/1993—Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu asserted that the government had worked for a radical change of the Romanian society and the continuation of the reforms necessary for a market

economy. For the next period, the government aims to supersede the difficulties and to achieve progress in the economic field, prime minister said.

"The entire activity of the government since its investiture by Romania's Parliament in November 1992 has been seeking to fulfill the fundamental options of the Romanian people after the December 1989 revolution, to change radically the Romanian society, to democratize the economic and social life, to continue the reforms according to the requirements of a generalized market economy."

"We are confident that the debates in the FDSN [Democratic National Salvation Front] conference will outline new directions of action for the government, representing a real support for the recovery from the present difficulties and the gradual settlement of the economic and social life on the path toward progress so much waited for by the Romanian people," the report read.

Nastase Reports on Future Program

AU0907190293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1745 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 9/7/1993—Social-democracy is the Democratic National Salvation Front's [FDSN] fundamental creed, reads the third report presented to the National Conference of the ruling party in Romania.

"Romania—How To Change It for the Better?" is the title of the report presented on Friday by FDSN Vice-President Adrian Nastase, suggestively subtitled "A Realistic Social-Democratic Project."

"Social-democracy is the fundamental creed of the FDSN and the National Conference should clearly state it," the report shows. The party's future program pursues "the building of a society relying on blending political freedom with social policy, on an economy in which the private sector may be free to grow along with a public sector, operating in tune with the laws of market and competitiveness, where the state should play a coordinating role by economic instead of administrative means."

Resolution on Corruption

AU0907203393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1822 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 9/7/1993—The Friday afternoon works of the National Conference of the ruling party in Romania were mostly covered by discussions on the three reports presented in the morning. Most of the speakers expressed agreement with the ideas comprised in the documents, emphasizing also some shortfalls in the party's activity.

A resolution was endorsed on combating corruption. The FDSN [Democratic National Salvation Front] parliamentary groups will ask for the calling of an extraordinary session of the parliament's two chambers in the later half of August, to debate the phenomenon.

Report on Social-Democratic Doctrine

AU1007141593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1204 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/7/1993—"Social-democracy is the fundamental belief of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN], and the national conference has to clearly assert this thing", reads the third report presented at the ruling FDSN party national conference by Adrian Nastase, deputy vice president of the party. "The future party programme is focused on the building of a society based on political freedoms and social justice, on one economy in which the private sector would operate unrestricted together with the public sector, according to the laws governing the market and of competition, in which the state would become a coordinator by economic means and not by administrative ones", runs the report. The FDSN suggests a "progressivist pragmatism", wishing to build a model society for all and for exceptional people as well. The FDSN sets itself to make labor and honesty the supreme values of the Romanian society, while authority, legalness and justice as fundamental criteria of a democratic state of law.

Also suggested is a new approach of the issues faced by Romania's society which would mark the end of an era of sterile confrontations and start constructive competition among parties wishing to develop Romania.

"The pragmatical approach which the FDSN is setting itself," runs the report, "must take into consideration that a potential partner of Romania is a 'Maastricht-type Europe'." The report also shows that orientation towards European institutions must be unilateral. "We need an orientation towards an Euro-Atlantic world, to the United States, and we must support the restoration of ties with markets traditional for Romania, among which the Middle East and the Arab market, the Balkans, China, Japan, the CIS states".

The report also draws future guidelines of the Democratic National Salvation Front. The party has to be built such as to become adapted to the "conditions of political pluralism", and must consider "alliance and partnership systems that would lead to the implementation of its own programme", reads the report.

The documents calls for a wider opening towards other parties, stressing the concern for the achievement of "a deep national consensus". The report shows that the FDSN party electorate is formed by people who are earning an honest living. At the same time, the document shows that the party "has to advance new political offers to gather around it all those objectively interested in the implementation of a social-democratic programme."

"Our party must become the action center of the kind 'by social-democracy towards a civilian society', guided by a model favored by all social groups and negotiable with all political forces" runs the report in conclusion.

FDSN Changes Name

AU1007144993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1348 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/7/1993—The new name of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] is starting Saturday, 10 July, according to a decision of the national conference, the Social Democracy Party of Romania. Although during debates several suggestions were made for a new name, the proposal of the Executive Bureau of the FDSN has won majority of votes.

Adopted by a majority vote also on Saturday was the statute of the Social Democracy Party of Romania.

According to provisions in the statute, the national bodies of the Social Democracy Party of Romania are: the National Council, the Central Executive Bureau, the Permanent Delegation, the president of the National Council, the executive president. The structure of the party will include also national consultative, ethics and litigation commissions and one commission for financial control. The statute also includes provisions regarding the organization of parliamentary groups, of the ministerial group, of youth and women components.

Vacaroiu Presents Government Activity

AU1007200793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1720 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/7/1993—The second item on the agenda of the National Conference of the Democratic National Salvation Front was the report regarding the activity unfolded by the government between November 1992 and June 1993, read by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu.

The government's activity was mainly oriented towards the achievement of fundamental options of the Romanian people, for radical changes in Romania's society, for democratization of the economic and social life, the furthering of reform according to conditions set by the introduction and generalization of market economy mechanisms, stated Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu.

The report regarding the activity of the government between November 1992 and June 1993 presented at the National Conference of the Democratic National Salvation Front of 9 June 1993 by Romania's Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu shows that measures adopted by the government were focused on the improvement of the legal framework, in the spirit of furthering the reform and of the necessities due to the transition to a market economy, the axing of state subsidies to some basic goods and services for the population beginning with May 1, 1993, the introduction of the value added tax, starting July 1, 1993, the policy of income profits has been further used as an anti-inflationist lever, the process of privatisation of state companies has been speeded-up, and small and medium enterprises sector have also been developed. Moreover the process of industrial restructuring has been started. According to the report, the growth of industrial production is higher than that registered in 1992. As for agriculture, government activities were mainly focused on the capitalization of zootechnical land, on the material and human patrimony as a condition to generally relaunch the economy.

The document also shows that for stimulating investments, the state allotted investments by 80 per cent higher than in 1992. Referring to the labor market, it was mentioned that it registered a certain stability in the last period, and the rate of unemployment gained also stability and stood at 9.3 per cent at the end of the first half of the year.

The share of the private sector has reached a 47 per cent out of retail sales and 37.5 per cent out of services for the population.

The programme of governing also included the ensurance of wages according to the level of prices, by indexations, by protecting disadvantaged social categories.

In the current social and political context, the government views the need and the fundamental importance for the present and future development of Romania of a social pact as an expression of joint responsibility: government, trade unions, employers' organizations.

In the field of foreign policy, the report goes on, the government had in view mainly the preservation of Romania as a stability factor in the area and the prevention of an extension of hotbeds of tension in our country, the furthering of efforts for the building of special ties with states and international bodies, for integration within Western-European and Euro-Atlantic structures with a political, economic and strategic character and for harmonization of Romania's policy with their basic orientations.

Conference Ends With Declaration

AU1007201193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1458 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/7/1993—The National Conference of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] [former Democratic National Salvation Front] concluded on Saturday afternoon. A political declaration of the conference read by Adrian Nastase has been adopted which reads among other things:

The national conference of the Social Democracy Party of Romania calls on the government to act in view of stimulating tendencies to relaunch industrial productivity and to find solutions to issues regarding economic and financial blockage and stop the national currency devaluation. The executive is also called to act "more

insistently" for fighting crime, eradicate abuse and corruption, as well as to diversify forms of active social protection and render them efficiency. Also stressed is the need for concerted political actions "against shows of extremism of any kind and of political intolerance". The conference gives the mandate for the National Council of the party to elaborate an offer of collaboration for all political, social and trade union forces that would lead to the conclusion of a political and social pact meant to ensure an effective national reconciliation and to rally all forces of the entire nation in view of overcoming the difficulties confronting it.

NATO Delegation Discusses Intensifying Cooperation

AU0907160293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] A NATO delegation led by Mr. Andre Claesen, deputy director of the NATO division for political military planning, was received today at Romania's Presidency by Colonel General Vasile Ionel, presidential counselor.

At the end of the meeting, Mr. Andre Claesen stated—during an exclusive interview for our radio station—that the discussions at the chief of staff level, which he is holding in Bucharest, are the result of the military cooperation program concluded between NATO and cooperation partners.

At the same time, Mr. Claesen said that Romania was one of the most active countries within this program and that the talks at the chief of staff level will pursue as many practical forms of cooperation between NATO and our country as possible.

During the afternoon the NATO delegation conducted talks with State Secretary Ioan Gorita at the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The two sides emphasized the interest in and complete readiness of the Romanian side to intensify cooperation with NATO in the areas agreed upon, expand cooperation to new areas, and seek ever more advanced forms of cooperation.

The two sides also discussed aspects regarding developing Romania's relations with the Republic of Moldova, as well as regarding developments in the Yugoslav crisis, and cooperation in the Balkans and in the Black Sea basin, our reporter Raluca Dana Cotruta informed us.

Relations of cooperation between Romania and NATO, as well as relations between the general staffs and the ministries of defense were discussed at noon at the Euro-Atlantic Center with the participation of the NATO delegation members who are visiting Romania.

As the discussions revealed, the purpose of the delegation's visit to Romania is to continue the dialogue on military cooperation between NATO and the Romanian Army and to intensify new forms of cooperation. Reviewing relations in the past years between NATO and its former opponents in Central and Eastern Europe, the guests noted constant progress.

According to ROMPRES news agency, a much discussed subject was the opportuneness of expanding NATO through nominating new members from this European zone. It was agreed that, for the time being, this is not on the agenda of the organization which still remains an open body.

At the same time, one cannot pose the problem of associate NATO members since there are specific differences between the economic and military areas. Within the same context, Mr. Claesen absolutely rejected a preferential regime for certain states in Central Europe by stressing that, quote, NATO's sacrosanct principle is precisely an equal treatment of all countries with which it cooperates, unquote.

Spiroiu, Delegation Discuss Modernization

AU0907193093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Today Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu, minister of national defense, received a delegation of military and civilian experts of NATO and of the Supreme Command of the Allied Forces of Europe. The delegation, which is visiting our country from 7-12 July at the invitation of Lieutenant General Dumitru Cioflina, state secretary and chief of the General Staff, is headed by Major General Andrei Claesen.

According to the communique issued by the Ministry of National Defense, during the talks the two sides assessed the actions of cooperation between the Romanian Army and NATO and emphasized the concerns with modernizing the organizational structures of the Ministries of Defense and of the General Staffs within the democratic reform processes, which are taking place in Eastern and Central European countries. They also discussed the stage and prospects of this restructuring process in our Army.

At the same time, the delegation of experts participated in a news conference, which was attended by military journalists, the communique received from the Press Bureau of the Ministry of national Defense concludes.

PAC Issues Communique on Members' Resignation

AU1207111693 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Jul 93 p 3

["Communique" by PAC President Nicolae Manolescu: "Communique of the Civic Alliance Party"]

[Text] The Steering Collegium of the Civic Alliance Party [PAC] met on 5 July 1993 and discussed the

situation that has been created as a result of the resignations turned in to the party headquarters by eight deputies (S. Tanase, C.Bot, V. Mandroviceanu, I. Ghise, C.Antonescu, C. Anastasiu, P.Litiu, and R.Joca) and one senator (A. Popovici).

The aforementioned persons dated their resignations 2 July 1993.

In the period between 2 July 1993 and 5 July 1993, these persons participated in the proceedings of the National Council of the Liberal Party [PL] 1993, where they signed the protocol and were elected to the leading bodies of the PL 1993.

This action was presented to the public, although the so-called civic liberal group was not recognized as such on either the legal or political plane by the PAC National Convention.

In accordance with the Regulations of the Chamber of Deputies and the Regulations of the Senate, the deputies and senators who withdraw from a parliamentary group become independent. In this situation, the PAC Steering Collegium decided to advise the PAC National Committee to withdraw Mr. Alexandru Popovici's capacity of leader of the parliamentary group in the Senate and from Mr. Stelian Tanase the capacity of leader of the parliamentary group in the Chamber of Deputies.

As far as the public announcement of the unification of the PAC parliamentary group in the Chamber of Deputies with the PL 1993 parliamentary group is concerned, as a result of the aforementioned resignations, the announcement is annulled. The deputies who remain PAC members will form a parliamentary group within the Democratic Convention of Romania.

The PAC Steering Collegium draws attention to the fact that the declarations of some of the people who resigned do not involve the party branches but only certain persons whose number is insignificant for the unity of the party.

Although it does not question the right of each PAC member to resign, the PAC Steering Collegium stresses the fact that presenting certain strictly individual actions as reflecting the position of certain organized structures is an attempt to split the party, an act for which those who created this confusion bear the entire responsibility.

President Nicolae Manolescu

5 July 1993

PSDT President Discusses Economic Crisis

AU0907052293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1648 GMT 8 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 8/7/1993—Traditional Social Democratic Party's (PSDT) President Florin Dragomir said at the press conference on Thursday that the excitement of mass media with respect to the corruption phenomenon represented "a manoeuvre aimed to distract attention from the real problems confronting Romania today: Economic crisis and poverty." The PSDT president criticized "the government and parliament's lack of reaction which encouraged corruption thus leading to extremely serious consequences."

The PSDT leadership agreed on principle to join the Social Democratic Union whose signatories are the Social Democratic Unity Party, the National Democratic Party, the New Democracy Party, the Christian Republican Party and the Traditional Social Democratic Party. The PSDT intends to establish contacts with other political formations oriented toward social democracy, notably the Democratic National Salvation Front and the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front), PSDT president informed.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 12 July
WA1207150593

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Serbian opposition leader Draskovic released from jail ... Bosnian Presidency proposes federation plan; Izetbegovic denies suggesting he might accept confederation plan ... Lord Owen announces support for confederation plan, new round of talks to begin 12 July ... Montenegrin Government urges acceptance of UN observers on FRY border with Bosnia ... Krajina commander warns Croatian President not to repair Maslenica bridge ... Bosnian Serbs block UN aid convoy from entering Gorazde.

POLITICAL

DRASKOVIC RELEASED FROM JAIL (TANJUG): Serbian President Milosevic releases opposition leader Draskovic and his wife from jail, saying that opposition parties and foreign countries are organizing a "political and media witch-hunt" in order to disgrace Serbia. Draskovic's doctors say that he is "feeling good" but will remain in the hospital for another few days. (LD0907182293, LD0907211093)

BOSNIAN PRESIDENCY PRESENTS PLAN (Sarajevo Radio, Zagreb Radio, TANJUG): Bosnian Presidency announces plan for a Bosnian federation that will "not be organized exclusively on ethnic principles." Presidency issues statement denying that Izetbegovic suggested that he might accept a confederation of three ethnic states and blames French Television for issuing "wrong information" designed to "weaken Bosnia's international position." Indicating that at least one member of the Presidency opposes the federation plan, Croatian member Lasic called the proposal "premature" and expressed support for something "between a confederation and a federation." (LD1107193693, AU0907173493, LD1007181193)

OWEN SUPPORTS CONFEDERATION (AFP, TANJUG): International mediator Lord Owen says that a plan to set up a confederation of "three republics" in Bosnia "deserves the most serious consideration" and that "you can build the country on that basis." Owen denies that the plan amounts to a "partition" of the country. (AU1007165693)

MONTENEGRO URGES BORDER PATROLS (TANJUG): The Montenegrin Government urges the FRY Government to accept UN demand that international observers be placed on the FRY-Bosnian border to monitor traffic between the two countries. The government contends that monitors would help convince the international community that "Yugoslavia's assistance to Bosnia is only humanitarian." Reacting to the Montenegrin Government's demand, FRY President Lilic says there is "no reason whatsoever" to deploy foreign monitors on the border. (LD0907200193, LD1007215593)

TUDJMAN WARNED NOT TO REPAIR BRIDGE (Belgrade Radio): Krajina Colonel Novakovic warns Croatian President Tudjman not to attempt to repair the Maslenica bridge, which is located on Serbian-occupied territory, and says that Tudjman's promise to begin reconstructing the bridge on 18 July shows that he is "waiting for an excuse to launch an act of aggression" against the Krajina Serbs.

HUMANITARIAN AID

BOSNIAN SERBS BLOCK AID CONVOY (TANJUG): Bosnian Serb troops block UN aid convoy from entering Gorazde, saying that "combat material was found" hidden in bullet-proof vests and "under the uniforms of UNPROFOR members." (LD1007055993)

Presidency Agreement on Federation Examined

LD1107193693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Jul 93

[Text] An agreement on the future internal organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina was reached at a session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency in Zagreb today, presided over by Ejup Ganic. To put it briefly, the state will be a federation. At the end of the session an official statement was distributed to journalists, saying the following:

The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has examined and further worked on a proposal of the constitutional organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. An agreement has been reached that the organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as a composite state, is to be in the form of a federal state, i.e. a federation, in which the equality of citizens and the three constituent nations is guaranteed.

The Presidency is in agreement that the territories of the federal units are not to be organized exclusively on ethnic principles, nor are they to be considered national territories.

An agreement has also been reached that the international subject is to be the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina; federal units cannot conclude international agreements and contracts which bring into question the interests and territorial integrity of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and other federal units.

This proposal is to be sent to the cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, so that the proposed plan can be examined at the forthcoming negotiations in Geneva simultaneously with other initiatives aimed at restoring peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Before the Geneva negotiations, a session of the Presidency is to be held in Sarajevo; at the session the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina is to take a final stand on the proposal on the constitutional organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina and reach a decision on strategy for the forthcoming negotiations in Geneva.

Following the session, we asked the Presidency members to make statements. On behalf of the Presidency Miro Lasic, a member of the Presidency, made a statement saying that he was satisfied with the negotiations in Zagreb today. Journalists had the impression that other members of the Presidency share the same view.

'Federation, Confederation' Proposals

LD1107115293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 11 Jul 93

[Excerpts] Members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency have continued their talks on the future organization of the state in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Embassy in Zagreb. Two proposals are being examined: for a confederation and for a federation. Most of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency members attending today's meeting favor a federation, because a confederation would in their opinion mean an ethnic division into three states which they consider unacceptable. The Presidency members must also decide whether and when to go to Geneva, and who among them will travel. [passage omitted]

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic have already confirmed their arrival in Geneva. Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic has not yet made up his mind. The final decision on who will attend the Geneva talks will most likely be reached in Zagreb today.

Izetbegovic on Partition

AU0907201093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Senada Cuburovic report on news conference by President Alija Izetbegovic in Sarajevo on 9 July—recorded]

[Text] The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina held a session today at which its members formulated the proposal of the constitutional framework of the future Bosnia-Herzegovina. Here is what Mr. Izetbegovic said about this proposal:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] I will only mention the three perhaps most important points. The presidency has accepted the proposal [words indistinct] according to which Bosnia-Herzegovina would constitute itself as a federal [word indistinct]. The number of units has not been decided on. However, there cannot be only three units and they cannot be set up on an ethnic basis. Therefore, the ethnic division of Bosnia-Herzegovina is (?out). [words indistinct]

In addition to other provisions, (?it was said) that the federal units cannot enjoy internationally recognized status nor have national names. It was also stated that the Constitution will contain a provision on the equality of the constituent peoples. [end recording]

(?All members) of the Presidency who attended today's session have left for Zagreb, excerpt Mr. Izetbegovic, who stayed behind because of other urgent obligations. Presidency members Abdic, Boras, Akmadzic will join other members [words indistinct] of the constitutional framework of the future Bosnia-Herzegovina (?that will be presented) to the cochairmen of the peace conference on Yugoslavia, Owen and Stoltenberg, tomorrow.

President Izetbegovic also explained (?the remarks he made [words indistinct] acceptance or rejection of the ethnic division of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mr. Izetbegovic read, once again, in English the part of his statement in which he said that the ethnic division is not unacceptable

for us or that it is acceptable with (?serious reservations), and that it can be accepted only as an imposed solution. Mr. Izetbegovic said:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] Therefore, this means that this is only a question of choice between waging a 30-year war, finally ending up in (?caves like) savages, or accepting an ethnic division of Bosnia, in order to [words indistinct] Bosnia along ethnic lines as a lesser [words indistinct]. [end recording]

In a reply to the question on whether support from the international community is expected to save Bosnia-Herzegovina as a multiethnic and multicultural community, President Izetbegovic said that there is political support in this sense and that this stance will be further defended, although the international community is, in a way, betraying the promises given, not only to us, but also to its own stances. However, we alone, (?that is), the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina, should defend ourselves. Of course, the negotiations will continue, and in this context, and in respect to the possibility of holding a new London conference, we are going to participate—Mr. Izetbegovic said—but on two conditions: a cease-fire and free passage for humanitarian convoys.

The last question asked at the news conference today was connected with the stand of the United States, the country that is also advocating the principles of a multiethnic and multicultural community. Bosnia-Herzegovina should remain as that itself.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] I can repeat it once again. I have said it on several occasions regarding the United States. I said that it was in fact [words indistinct] toward the United States, because I think that (?it can) understand this better than Europe. [words indistinct] obvious from political behavior, comparison of behavior of Europe and the United States, because it can be seen that the United States understands this problem better and has more understanding. [words indistinct]

Let my statement be yet another [word indistinct] to the Bosnian people and the U.S. Government [words indistinct] to help a multicultural community (?of) Bosnia-Herzegovina. [end recording]

Partition 'Must Not Be Ethnic'

AU0907173493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] In a series of wrong information the goal of which is to weaken Bosnia-Herzegovina's international position, an item carried by French Television is especially conspicuous. The item claims that President Izetbegovic has allegedly accepted the partitioning of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three parts within the framework of a confederation.

President Izetbegovic never made such a statement. The division of Bosnia-Herzegovina is in contradiction to President Izetbegovic's fundamental stance on a solution for our country as a state of equal rights for all its citizens. On the contrary, President Izetbegovic said the following in an interview given to Radio Television Bosnia-Herzegovina yesterday:

When there is talk about a confederacy we have to be clear. This is a partitioning of Bosnia-Herzegovina along ethnic lines. People like to wrap things up. Yesterday I learned that a partition was possible, but it must not be ethnic. Things should be called by their proper names. I believe that an ethnic partition is not for us. That is stated in today's statement by the Information Service of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

Ganic Rejects Ethnic Partition

AU0907211593 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2000 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Telephone interview with Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic by Robert Hochner on 9 July; place not given: questions, answers in English with superimposed German translation—recorded]

[Text] [Hochner] Today the Bosnian state presidency decided with an overwhelming majority that it will continue to advocate and fight for a joint Bosnian state. Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic explained the motives for this decision in a telephone interview this afternoon.

[Ganic] That is not acceptable for Bosnia-Herzegovina. If somebody wants to enforce the partition, this can only destroy the country. Yet it will never be implemented.

[Hochner] President Izetbegovic stated yesterday that he might accept Bosnia's partition because otherwise the war will never end. Does the fact that the Bosnian Presidency insisted on the preservation of the Bosnian state today mean war for the foreseeable future?

[Ganic] Well, most Bosnians have no alternative but to fight for Bosnia, and they will never give up Bosnia. They will never accept a partition on the basis of ethnic groups. Neither our Army nor our population will accept that. A total of 200,000 Bosnians have died for Bosnia, and we will continue to put up resistance by all means.

[Hochner] Are you really in a position to put up resistance? According information that we have received, the situation in Sarajevo is quite desperate.

[Ganic] Yes, because the international community exerts pressure on us. We are being blackmailed with food supplies. This might have disastrous consequences. Yet we will not revise our decision. There are numerous Bosnians who do not live in Sarajevo. There are 2 million outside Bosnia and many others in territories controlled by us. If one takes into consideration all views, the majority completely rejects the idea of three ethnically uniform states. This would lead to Bosnia's disappearance and to the creation of a greater Serbia and naturally to more destruction. Such an agreement will not bring peace but more fighting.

[Hochner] Can you really resist the pressure by the world community, the EC, NATO, Russia, the Serbs, the Croats, and the United Nations that is allegedly pressurizing you by reducing food supplies?

[Ganic] We want a new London conference. Yet if the international community wants to destroy this country, it will have to handle the consequences. It will have to take care of 2 to 3 million people outside Bosnia who are not friendly toward the international community.

[Hochner] Can you imagine that there will be Muslim leaders in Bosnia at some point who will accept the partition of the country?

[Ganic] No, because this will be the end of civilization. If the EC forces us to accept ethnic partitions, this will be a legitimized genocide and legalized ethnic cleansing. As a result, all international moral principles of a sovereign and independent state will be destroyed. Thus, we hope that there will be another opportunity for a second London conference. We demand one, and we want to present our proposals there. We hope that the world will not push us in the direction of a partition, because this direction means a never-ending war. We are a mixed society, and it is not possible to destroy such a mixed society without creating hell.

[Hochner] Mr. Vice President, thank you for the interview.

[Ganic] Thank you. Goodbye.

Izetbegovic Stance Unclear

AU1107145593 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Jul 93

[Dragoslav Kosaric report from Ljubljana]

[Text] Lord Owen will not hear about any new proposals, as he says that a confederation of three ethnic republics is not ideal but it is acceptable. He says that it is not the partition of the country but rather granting great autonomy for the ethnic provinces. Owen also refutes [Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member Miro] Lasic, saying that detailed Serbian-Croatian maps are already on the table.

Lord Owen said last night that conditions had been created for a joint session in Geneva in two days with presidents of Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, but that it was unclear whether Alija Izetbegovic would agree to that. According to Owen, Presidents Milosevic and Tudjman have already confirmed that they were ready to travel to Geneva tomorrow, while the eight members of the collective Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency would agree today on what to do next and whether or not to continue with the peace negotiations.

Let us add that the cochairmen Owen and Stoltenberg met in Zagreb with President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia. We have learned from reliable sources that they discussed Maslenica and the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Both sides refused to say anything about these talks.

Confederation 'Not Ideal'

LD1107025293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Report by correspondent Nada Alisa from Zagreb]

[Excerpts] Talks in Zagreb between members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia, have ended without any concrete results. It was only agreed, as Lord Owen told journalists, that the talks are to be continued. However, it is not yet known precisely where and when, although it will most probably be in Geneva. Lord Owen said that this could happen next week, maybe as early as Monday. He also noted that not only the members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency who were in Zagreb today agreed to come to Geneva; Croatian and Serbian Presidents Tudjman and Milosevic will also attend.

As he said, President Izetbegovic has not yet confirmed if he will attend. He did not get his final confirmation, Owen said, although he had spoken to him on the phone this morning.

Lord Owen said that all proposals and principles put forward and advocated by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency on the organization of their state will be thoroughly examined. But likewise, Owen said, the Serbo-Croatian proposal—just to remind you, on a possible confederation—is one possible solution. However, Owen said that it is not an ideal solution, but nevertheless one of those that he considers acceptable. [passage omitted]

A new session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency members is to be held tomorrow, but without the participation of the two cochairmen. They are to meet in the Bosnia-Herzegovina embassy in Zagreb, when they are to make known their stands on the plans and proposals of the two cochairmen and will also say whether they are in favor of continuing negotiations and when.

Also today, as Lord Owen said, they thoroughly examined proposals from both sides, although Lord Owen has not yet been briefed on a proposal on a federated Bosnia-Herzegovina and therefore could not voice his opinion on that. As Owen said, negotiations will most definitely continue, but he still does not know who will take part in them. He particularly stressed that whatever President Izetbegovic—with whom, as I said, he had a phone conversation this morning—proposes will be taken into consideration.

Finally, just to quote some statements by the members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency on how to organize Bosnia-Herzegovina:

Croatian Presidency member Miro Lasic believes that Bosnia-Herzegovina ought to be something between a

federation and a confederation. He did not specify what that half-federation-half-confederation state would be like.

Mirko Pejanovic deems that this is out of the question: The only solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina is a federation. Ejup Ganic made a statement to a similar effect upon his arrival in Zagreb.

Following the end of today's talks, we asked Fikret Abdic to make a statement. Abdic said, however, that by making a statement he would disclose a secret, and if he told us what his stand is further negotiations would be unnecessary.

Krajisnik Assesses Future of B-H

AU0907163693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1404 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Interview with Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Serbian republic assembly by an unidentified reporter on 9 July—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified reporter] Good day, Mr. Krajisnik.

[Krajisnik] Good day.

[Unidentified reporter] You took part in yesterday's negotiations with the cochairmen of the peace conference on the former Yugoslavia, Owen and Stoltenberg. How would you assess the talks, or what would you single out?

[Krajisnik] Well, the talks held yesterday between Mr. Milosevic and our delegation with the cochairmen were very good, and we can assess them as being of a very high quality. The cochairmen have taken a quality approach to this conference. Reality has accepted that it is inevitable that the very best possible proposal should be submitted to the third party, the Muslim side, that is. [sentence as heard]

The cochairmen and the international public should exert moral, or maybe even moderately strong political, pressure on the third party so that it accepts Bosnia-Herzegovina and the realistic state, which is that Bosnia-Herzegovina has already been transformed into a confederacy.

[Unidentified reporter] In this sense, what do you think is to be expected? How will events unfold?

[Krajisnik] Well, I can say that the problem has, in fact, boiled down to waiting for the Bosnian, Muslim side to say whether it agrees to a transformation of Bosnia-Herzegovina into a confederacy, and to establish demarcation lines between the three ethnic communities, to have new maps drawn that would constitute three states on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The talks took place yesterday in the Presidency of the Republic of Serbia, and their goal was to put certain issues on the agenda, to articulate problems, and to prepare a quality solution for the third party, to ensure that there are minimal problems in the final transformation of Bosnia-Herzegovina into a confederation.

[Unidentified reporter] Alija Izetbegovic yesterday told Sarajevo Television that, judging by everything, the Muslim side would accept Bosnia-Herzegovina, the future Bosnia-Herzegovina as a confederacy. Do you think that this means that the Muslim side's stance has altered significantly?

[Krajisnik] Well, it is very hard to give a prognosis as to what any one of our adversaries thinks. However, from our experience with Mr. Izetbegovic, we were always under the impression that Mr. Izetbegovic was actually in favor of a partitioning of Bosnia-Herzegovina, if he is put into a situation where he cannot achieve a Muslim state in all of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It is my opinion that since Mr. Izetbegovic has seen that the realistic situation in international relations and that Bosnia- Herzegovina itself is such that he may well become a total loser, then, if I may say so, it is a wise move of Mr. Izetbegovic's to accept the realistic situation and to define the demarcation lines between the three ethnic communities, to accept Bosnia-Herzegovina as a confederation.

The fact that he has certain reservations about keeping Bosnia-Herzegovina as some form of a state probably means that he is preparing his public—the three peoples will decide what it will be like—and the less we apply pressure and impose a situation of anyone on anyone, Bosnia-Herzegovina, the three peoples that is, will have more normal relations. This means that a whole will survive that we will be able to call Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We proposed that if the name has to be retained, then let it be the Muslim part of Bosnia-Herzegovina that will carry the name Bosnia-Herzegovina, while the other two ethnic communities should form their republics and name them what they have already named them: Herceg-Bosna and the Serbian republic.

[Unidentified reporter] Thank you very much. Esteemed listeners, that was Momcilo Krajisnik, the chairman of the Serbian republic assembly.

Federation Plan 'Premature'

LD1007181193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] The new proposal for the federal reorganization of Bosnia-Herzegovina, put forward today by a Serb representative in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Mirko Pejanovic, was assessed by Croat representative Miro Lasic as premature. According to Lasic, all political solutions concerning Bosnia-Herzegovina require the consent of all three constituent nations. The reorganization of Bosnia-Herzegovina should be based on the priniciple between a confederation and a federation, Miro Lasic said.

Morillon Views B-H Division

AU1107165793 Paris AFP in English 1401 GMT 11 Jul 93

[Text] Sarajevo, July 11 (AFP) - Division of Bosnia-Herzegovina along ethnic lines would turn the war-torn republic into something akin to the Gaza Strip and could lead to prolonged conflicts, French General Philippe Morillon, the outgoing U.N. Protection Force commander in Bosnia, warned Sunday.

Morillon said any peace settlement for Bosnia-Herzegovina must respect the right of individuals to "stay in their ancestral home or go back there if they have been driven out by fear or violence."

Morillon, who was speaking to reporters the day before he is due to return to France, said it was "simplistic" to argue that Serbs, Croats and Moslems could be separated easily. "Such a simplistic notion would lead to something akin to the situation in the Gaza Strip, and would only give rise to prolonged conflicts," Morillon said referring to the Israeli-occupied territory.

He called for the rapid establishment of the six safe areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina designated by the United Nations. Morillon warned that winter would be "terrible" for the inhabitants of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and said water, electricity and gas supplies must be restored in Sarajevo urgently, "otherwise I fear winter will be truly dramatic."

He said he had received a "solemn pledge" from the Bosnian Serbs that essential supplies would be restored. "Of course I shall leave unhappy at having failed to help the people of this country restore peace," Morillon said.

Belgian General Francis Briquemont is due to take over from Morillon as commander of U.N. troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina in a ceremony at Sarajevo airport Monday.

Meanwhile U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata Sunday called for an urgent meeting of donor countries to discuss the Bosnian crisis. In a BBC radio interview Ogata said she hoped the donor countries would take seriously the fact that the UNHCR's funds for Bosnia-Herzegovina would only suffice for three more weeks.

The UNHCR has only received 130 million dollars of the 420 million needed this year for its activities in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The BBC said Ogata was planning to organise a meeting of aid donors for Friday [16 July]. Ogata said more money was needed not only for UNHCR operations in Bosnia but "there are more than 1.2 million refugees in neighbouring countries. We need money to keep them alive."

Ogata condemned what she described as the "unacceptable" use of humanitarian aid as a weapon of war. Bosnian aid convoy drivers had to renew their visas after three journeys across Serb-controlled territory, Ogata said, saying: "Everything is made to slow our operations and make it more difficult."

British Minister for Overseas Development at the Foreign Office Baroness Chalker is to meet with Ogata Monday to discuss new resources and said "there will be good news for her from Britain".

Commentary on Presidency's Acceptance of Partition

AU1107160193 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Jul 93

[Risto Djogo commentary]

[Text] What was it that forced Izetbegovic's Presidency to accept partition? First of all, it is the definite answer by the world that there is to be no military intervention on behalf of the Muslims. Another matter, of course, is the fierce war with the Croats, which puts in question all the routes by which the Muslims were supplied with weapons and ammunition. The third factor is the military defeats the Muslims have suffered, not only at the hands of Serbs but recently also the Croats.

All this has sobered up even the most hard line of unitarians. Izetbegovic himself, in his latest interview for Sarajevo television, said that there was no state where 10 percent of the population was disloyal. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, over half the population is disloyal. Apart from Izetbegovic, there is a Muslim movement with other leaders which is becoming louder, more reasonable, and realistic. So Fikret Abdic has simply realized that nothing can be done against the interests of the Serbs from Pale and the Croats from Listica. The fact is that greater Yugoslavia could not have disintegrated without the same thing happening to the smaller Yugoslavia, as Bosnia used to be called.

The internationally recognized government controls the smallest territory, has the weakest army, and its population is living under the harshest conditions. If they want to save the Muslim population they will have to accept reality, and the reality is that after 16 months of war a harmonious coexistence of Muslims, Serbs, and Croats in Bosnia is impossible. If they cannot live together, they will have to live side by side. This has become the way of thinking even for those who supported a united Bosnia until yesterday. That is why their acceptance of a federation, which is only a transition phase to a confederation, can and has to be seen as the most important political U-turn since the outbreak of the bloody Bosnian war.

All B-H Presidency Members To Meet Again 14 Jul

AU1207101393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Excerpt] Mile Akmadzic, (?one of the participants) of yesterday's Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency session in Zagreb, stated that the next session of this body will be

held on Wednesday [14 July] [place not specified] and that all members of the Presidency will take part. [passage omitted]

Serbs End Muslim Hopes of Sarajevo, Gorazde Corridor

AU1207142293 Paris AFP in English 1359 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] Sarajevo, July 12 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces made decisive military gains in eastern Bosnia by taking the key town of Trnovo 50 kilometers (30 miles) southeast of Sarajevo, a spokesman for the United Nations said Monday.

The Bosnian Serb advance late Sunday caused 4,000 civilians to flee to the village of Dejcici about 10 kilometers (6 miles) from Trnovo, said the U.N. spokesman speaking from Zagreb.

The advance was helped by the Serb capture of the strategic Rogoj pass after ten days of clashes with the mainly Moslem Bosnian forces.

The push gives the Serbs lines of communication between their units to the east and north of Sarajevo and those in eastern Herzegovina in the southeast of ex-Yugoslavia, a Serbian source said.

The gains put an end to Bosnian hopes of establishing a corridor linking Sarajevo with the besieged Moslem enclave of Gorazde in the east which is one of the U.N.'s six "safe havens."

The Serb forces managed to repel an attack by the Moslem Bosnian forces launched later Sunday night in a bid to regain their lost territory, according to a Serb army source in Herzegovina cited by the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG.

Bosnian Serb forces lost several troops during the clashes, the Bosnian Serb general staff spokesman said Monday.

Serb forces also clashed with Moslem forces at Doboj and Teslic in the north and with Croat and Moslem forces around Orasje and Brcko in the northeast.

Confrontations between Croats and Moslems continued in northern Central Bosnia at Maglaj, Zepce and Zavidovic and in the southeastern region of Mostar, Tanjug said echoing reports on Radio Zagreb and Radio Sarajevo.

General Jean Cot, the French head of U.N. forces in ex-Yugoslavia, said Monday in Sarajevo at the ceremony welcoming the new Belgian chief of the U.N. force in Bosnia, General Francis Briquemont, the change of U.N. personnel might be considered "a handicap" but that continuity would not guarantee a solution to the conflict.

He said the replacement Monday of General Philippe Morillon as head of the U.N. force in Bosnia came at a "difficult time for the peace process."

"The moment of the changeover could also be an advantage," he added, stressing that there were also changes taking place on the diplomatic and political fronts as alternatives to the Vance-Owen peace plan were sought.

He also hinted there was scope for change in the way the U.N. peacekeeping force worked alongside the political process. "I would like the U.N. forces to take a step back regarding political negotiations in order to better complement them and to speed things up."

General Briquemont, in an interview Monday with the Belgian radio station RTBF, said: "It is necessary to say to those who think they have won that it is also necessary to win peace."

He also spoke of Bosnia as a "marvelous" country where he hoped one day people would forgive each other, and live in peace. He stressed that ethnic cleansing was untenable in the long term.

Meanwhile, Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic, in Islamabad Monday for a meeting of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC), criticised the embargo on arms to Bosnia saying it was a violation of the U.N. charter. The OIC will draw up concrete proposals for the defence of U.N. security zones in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Serbs Capture Trnovo From Muslims

LD1207090193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0737 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Excerpt] Trebinje, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—Last night units of the Herzegovina and Sarajevo-Romanija Corps of the Serb republic army liberated the town of Trnovo about 30 kilometers south of Sarajevo, the information service of the Herzegovina Corps said today.

After their defeat, Muslim forces retreated toward Mount Igman in panic, leaving scores of dead soldiers and large quantities of weapons and ammunition behind them, the statement said. [passage omitted]

UNPROFOR Confirms Trnovo Report

AU1207100093 Paris AFP in English 0919 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, July 12 (AFP)—[Passage omitted] In Zagreb, the U.N. Protection Force confirmed that Serb forces had taken Trnovo and said an estimated 4,000 civilians were fleeing to the nearby village of Dejcici.

Muslims, Serbs Fighting in Doboj, Gorazde

AU1007143693

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 10 June carries in its regular 40-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Reporting from Doboj, Zoran Gurgurevic says that "the Muslims from their strongholds in Matuzici and Debelo

Brdo are constantly shelling defense lines in Putnikovo Brdo. The villages in the Bosna River valley have not been spared the shelling either, but there have been no casualties. As for the Zavidovici front, the Muslim offensive continues with the shelling of civilian targets in (?Sizja) from the direction of Devetak. The Muslims are bringing in reinforcements from Banovici, Tuzla, and Lukavac, grouping them on the southern part of this front, on the (?Lopte)-(?Zednji Vrh) line. A terrorist group has been destroyed in the region of (?Osmicine) on the Teslic front, and the town of Teslic itself has been shelled."

Drago Kovacevic reports from an unspecified location in Eastern Bosnia that "the Serbian military sources talk of continuous Muslim attacks on the Serbian fighters in Gorazde, which has recently been proclaimed a safe haven. That is why the Muslim phalanx from the besieged Gorazde has been attacking continuously during the last 24 hours, particularly Ustipraca, and the Serbian positions in (?Paljica) in the Cajnice commune in order to get the European observers to blame the Serbian side for the clashes around Gorazde." He claims that "last night one of the fiercest combined artillery-infantry attacks was launched from the strongholds in Trnovo, Rajski Do, and Rogoj in the direction of the Serbian positions in Dobro Polje. We have been told that the heavy fighting went on until morning, but that the lines have not been moved."

Muslims Continue Offensive in Doboj, Maglaj, Teslic

LD1007135393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1300 GMT 10 Jul 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Doboj, July 10 (TANJUG)—Moslems on Saturday continued their offensive from two days ago against Bosnian Serb positions and towns in the regions of Doboj, Maglaj and Teslic, in the north of ethnic war-ravaged Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bosnian Serb military sources have said.

Moslem artillery units attacked Doboj in the night between Friday and Saturday from the direction of Tesanj, and Serb positions in the town's vicinity were also not spared.

The Bosnian Serb defenders answered all the attacks and "silenced" the enemy, Serb military sources claim. The Moslems intensified their combat activities at the Teslic front as well. They attacked Serb positions with strong artillery fire and attempted to infiltrate saboteurs but the group was neutralized, the same source says.

The Bosnian Serb village of Sizje in the northeastern part of the front around Zavidovici came under Moslem mortar fire several times over the past 24 hours.

Reinforcements for Moslem troops from the direction of Banovici, Lukavac and Tuzla also continue to arrive, and they are amassing in the southern and eastern part of this battlefield.

At the front around Maglaj, Moslem forces constantly attacked Serb villages on the fringes of Mt. Ozren on the right bank of the River Bosna with strong infantry units and mortar fire. The Serb fighters returned fire, forcing the enemy to cease the attacks.

Saturday was calm in the Posavina region, after severe Serb-Moslem clashes on Friday at the Brcko and Orasje battlefields, Bosnian Serb military sources in Brcko said.

In the south of Bosnia-Herzegovina, eastern Herzegovina, Moslem Forces strongly attacked Serb positions in the region of Dobro Polje, in the municipality of Kalinovik.

As reported by Bosnian Serb military sources in Trebinje, all Moslem infantry attacks were repulsed and a significant number of the aggressors were killed.

Serb fighters between Foca and Gorazde also came under fire of the Moslems. This region is one of the six U.N. proclaimed safe areas for Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The remaining parts of the Herzegovinian battlefield were somewhat more calm in the night between Friday and Saturday, the Bosnian Serb Army Command in Trebinje reported.

Muslims, Serbs Fight for Control of Rogoj Pass

LD1107124993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1137 GMT 11 Jul 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Trebinje, Doboj, July 11 (TANJUG)—Heavy fighting between Moslem and Serb units for Rogoj Pass, an important strategic point on the Kalinovik-Trnovo road in northern Herzegovina, lasted well into Saturday night, Bosnian Serb military sources said on Sunday morning.

The Herzegovina corps command of the army of the Serb republic said that four Serb fighters had been killed in the fighting.

Strong Moslem infantry units, with a heavy artillery back-up from the direction of Trnovo, attacked the regions of Karaula and Bandijerka, the Serb army command said.

The command also said that all the Moslem infantry attacks had been repulsed and that the Serb units had managed to move their positions in a strong counter-attack.

The Herzegovina corps command said that Bosnian Croat units also violated the agreed ceasefire on Saturday. They opened occasional fire from light weaponry

at Serb positions from the region of Straznica, a border region between the municipalities of Stolac and Ljubinje.

The Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia on Saturday also used light weaponry to fire at Serb positions in the region of Popovo Polje, the Herzegovina corps command said.

Continued Fighting in Maglaj, Zavidovici

AU1207100593

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian within its 0800 GMT and 0900 GMT newscasts carries the following fighting reports:

The Third Operative Group of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in its dispatch about the situation on the territory within its responsibility reports "continued Chetnik attacks." Kladanj, Olovo and their surroundings suffered attacks yesterday and overnight, it is reported. "We have noticed that the Chetniks are mining Muslim houses in the village of Dragadol," the report goes on, adding that seven houses have already been blown up. The report also states that Kladanj was shelled from Bijelo Polje at 2000 GMT without any casualties.

Reporting from Brcko, Hamiz Deronjic mentions "yesterday's fierce charges of the Serbo-Chetnik army at the positions of the defenders." As he says "the defenders successfully thwarted a Chetnik attempt to break through the lines of defense in the region of Bajici." "Intense artillery fire by the aggressor was noted in the central part of the Brcko battlefield throughout the night," Deronjic says, and adds that "incendiary projectiles" were fired at Licki Most. "In other parts of the Brcko battlefield the night passed with provocative aggressor's fire," Deronjic concludes.

From Gradacac a report from the press service states that "the day yesterday was peaceful until the evening," when at approximately 1600 GMT "a few projectiles" were fired at the industrial zone of the town, while some "ten howitzer bombs" were fired from Skugric at Jasenice and Lukavac. "The situation calmed down at approximately 2100 [1900 GMT]," the report concludes, noting infantry arms' provocations during the rest of the night. "The morning in Gradacac is mostly peaceful with minor provocations in Taboriste and Liporasce," the report concludes.

From Maglaj, Hajrudin Sermic reports that "the Chetnik and Ustasha troops" have been "attacking constantly" the defense lines of the town. Following yesterday's attack at the town's western defense lines, "the enemy" attacked Bijela Ploca and Klanac with tanks and howitzers, he reports. As he says "hundreds of projectiles" were destroying the civilian quarters in these areas. "The morning is passing with fierce attacks on our fighters in the region of (?Lijestice)," Sermic reports. To him, this indicates that "another difficult day is in store for the 35,000 residents" of the town. Sermic also reports that "after 17 days the UN Protection Force observers still have not entered the town."

"The united fascists" fired "more than 1,000 projectiles" from various artillery weapons at Zavidovici and its surroundings, according to the Bosnia Operative Group press center. As it is stated, it was "exclusively and only the residential quarters" that were targeted while the "residents have not left their shelters for the 20th day in a row." Hajadarovici, (?Mahovi), and Smajlbasici were attacked until late at night, the center reports. "The morning is peaceful, with the exception of Dubravice, where the united aggressor has been firing infantry weapons provocatively," the dispatch says, adding that all the defense lines are stable.

Serbs Capture Muslim 'Stronghold' of Rogoj

AU1107145993

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 11 July carries in its regular 35-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Reporting from the Herzegovina front, Jelena Dabarcic says that "the clashes between the Serbian and the Muslim armies have continued today. They are the fiercest again in the direction of Kalinovik, where the Muslims are trying to push the Serbian fighters back from their positions. Despite the fact that they are not succeeding and they are suffering great personnel losses, the Muslims are not giving up. The Muslim infantry, with heavy weapons support, is attacking from the direction of Trnovo, where large units of the Muslim army have gathered from Mount Igman. The worst fighting is taking place in the wider region of Rogoj, an important strategic point on the Kalinovik-Trnovo road."

In his report from Kalinovik, Drago Todorovic says that "the infamous Muslim stronghold of Rogoj under Mount Treskavica has been under the control of the brave Serbian fighters as of this morning. After eight days of bloody clashes for every inch of the occupied Serbian land, the enemy M-84 machine gun is no longer active from this very important strategic point at 1,400 meters above sea level. The fierce Serbian offensive has broken the tough resistance of the drugged Islamic phalanx. In their panic-stricken flight toward Trnovo, the Islamic fighters left behind 82-mm and 120-mm mortars, antiaircraft guns and machine guns, and a number of motorized vehicles."

Vladimir Eles reports from Mount Romanija that "a strong sabotage team infiltrated the Krusevo area yesterday, but an energetic operation by the Serbian army destroyed it."

According to Vlado Trisic, who reports from the Mount Majevica front, "the aggressor attacked overnight in several directions, but the heaviest fire was aimed at the

Ugljevik-Lopare road in the area of Preljave and Privoj, southwest from Ugljevik. This morning between 0830 [0630 GMT] and 0900, the Muslims from Brnik fired at Lukavica, but it is now reported somewhat quieter."

Muslims Step Up Attacks on Serb Positions in Doboj

LD1107161193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1451 GMT 11 Jul 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 11 (TANJUG)—Moslem formations have stepped up attacks on Serb positions and settlements in the region of Doboj and have continued re-grouping their troops, Bosnian Serb military sources said on Sunday.

Moslem forces launched about ten mortars on Doboj on Saturday night. No one was killed in the attack, but the material damage was great.

Moslem units carried out a strong infantry attack on Serb positions on the Teslic front, some twenty kilometres to the south of Doboj. The attack, accompanied by heavy artillery fire, was repelled and the enemy was forced to withdraw, Bosnian Serb military sources said. There were no losses on the Serb side, the same sources said. Serb forces have been repelling continual Moslem infantry attacks on the Zavidovici front, Bosnian Serb military sources said.

Clashes continued also on the Sarajevo front. Bosnian Serb News Agency SRNA quoted the Sarajevo-Romanija based Bosnian Serb military sources as saying that Moslem formations attempted to break through Bosnian Serb defence lines in the Sarajevo Serb suburb of Grabvica late on Saturday.

Moslem attacks have continued also in eastern Bosnia. According to the Bratunac-based Bosnian Serb military sources, Moslems opened heavy fire from all kinds of infantry weapons several times, but the Serb side did not respond.

According to incomplete data, Moslem extremists have killed about 1,400 Serbs, mainly women, children and old people in most brutal ways and have completely destroyed tens of Serb villages since the outbreak of the war.

On Saturday, Moslems torched an eastern orthodox church in Srebrenica, the Moslem enclave which has been proclaimed a U.N. "safe area." The church was torched despite the fact that members of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) have been there since April.

Radio Reports Muslim-Croat Skirmishes in Mostar

LD1207105993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] Last night the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and Muslim forces engaged in sporadic clashes in Mostar. The heaviest fighting was registered along the demarcation line in the very center of Mostar. Both sides launched mortar attacks along the demarcation line. HVO artillery targeted areas where Muslims have been building fortifications and prevented Muslim forces from regrouping.

Mostar Dam Collapse Feared; Five Killed in Zepce

LD0907163093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Report by Correspondent Zdenko Vranjes from Mostar]

[Text] The Neretva hydroelectric power station dam and the level of the Neretva river have since this morning become the main weapon in the Muslim-Croat conflict in Mostar. The Muslim army has closed the valves at the power station dam at the approaches to Mostar. Since a large amount of water has been released from the Salakovac hydroelectric power station, five or six kilometers upstream, the level of a lake situated between the two dams, in the Bijelo Polje area, has since this morning risen by one meter. Because the power station dam at the approaches to Mostar has been hit by thousands of Serb shells during the war, it is feared that it could collapse under the rising tide of water, which would completely destroy Mostar.

It is assumed by the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] that by increasing the lake water level in the area of Bijelo Polje, the Muslim army is attempting to cut the HVO supply route through the Neretva valley, while at the same time, by dropping the Neretva water level in the city, trying to facilitate the crossing of its forces from the left to the right bank.

There has been no major fighting in Mostar today but sporadic mortar and infantry weapons fire has continued along the city front line and in Bijelo Polje.

Busovaca and Kiseljak have been much more peaceful today than in the previous days. But that is not the case in Vitez, which the Muslim army has shelled from its stronghold of Kruscica since this morning. Two civilians have been killed in the shelling.

The Muslim attack on Zepce is still under way. Five people have been killed and six wounded in the shelling. Despite the fierce artillery and infantry attacks the HVO defense lines have not been moved.

Muslims 'Cleanse' More Than 20 Croat Villages

LD1007122093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Excerpt] Following the Muslim aggression against Croat villages in the valley of the Neretva River in the municipality of Konjic, which lasted more than two months, most of the people from these villages were forced to leave their homes.

Over the past three days [Croat] civilians, together with the [Bosnian Croat] army succeeded in breaking out of the two-month-long Muslim blockade in the direction of Prozor.

The Croatian Defense Council [HVO] information department of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna reports that HVO formations are putting up stiff resistance to the much more powerful enemy which committed crimes against the civilian population in this area and that the exact number of killed, and also massacred, civilians is still unknown but that it amounts to several dozen. Many villages were set on fire; all were plundered and more than 20 of them were completely ethnically cleansed. [passage omitted]

Muslim Attacks in Novi Travnik Region

LD1107154893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Jul 93

[Report from Mostar by Zdenko Vranjes]

[Text] Mostar is relatively quiet. Muslim attacks on Croat Defense Council [HVO] positions and Croat villages are continuing. Since last night Muslim forces have also been attacking the free part of the Prozor municipality.

The most difficult situation today is in Novi Travnik. The Muslim army opened howitzer and mortar fire on the town center and the neighboring villages of Budisici and Stojkovici. Four civilians were killed and many wounded, an HVO military source reported. The Muslim army has continued its attacks on HVO defense lines near Zabrdje close to Vitez, and has also launched mortar and howitzer attacks on the suburbs of Busovaca and villages near Fojnica and Kresevo.

From 2100 last night until this morning there was heavy infantry fighting in the villages of Crni Vrh and Meja, Prozor municipality. Strong Muslim forces attacked this area. The local HVO command reported that the attack was repelled this morning and that the defense lines remained unchanged.

Sporadic exchanges of artillery fire between the HVO and the Muslim army as well as infantry battles were reported along the urban frontline in Mostar at about 0500. The Muslim army this morning attempted a breakthrough near a secondary school and tried to smuggle in a sabotage group south of Mostar. Both attempts were unsuccessful, with losses on the Muslim side, an HVO military source reported.

Muslims Launch First Artillery Attack on Prozor

LD1207115693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes from Mostar]

[Text] Fighting is continuing in Zepce where, according to the command of the 111th Brigade, Croatian Defense Council [HVO] soldiers have been successfully repelling Muslim attempts to regain their positions lost in recent clashes.

Yesterday and last night Muslim units engaged in constant infantry provocations along all demarcation lines at the Rama [Croat populated area northwest of Mostar] battlefiled. According to the information service of the HVO's Rama Brigade Muslim artillery shelled the town of Prozor early this morning.

Ethnic Cleansing by Croats Reported Near Capljina

LD1107144293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1211 GMT 11 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG)—Yesterday evening and during the night, Croatian Defense Council [HVO] forces expelled 115 Muslims to the left bank of the Neretva in Mostar, thus continuing the ethnic cleansing of the part of Mostar under the control of "HVO pro-Ustasha extremists," Sarajevo radio claims today, quoting a Muslim army source.

The same source adds that the expelled include women, children, and the elderly. At the same time, Muslim soldiers are being placed in a concentration camp on a heliport near Capljina.

The Muslim army source estimates that since 30 June, 10,000 Mostar Muslims have been taken to camps in retaliation for the successes of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, which seized the Sjeverni Logor and Bijelo Polje barracks.

Relations Between B-H Army, HVO in Bugojno 'Eased'

AU1207110393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Report by the Information Service of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in Bugojno]

[Text] In the course of yesterday, the relations between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] have eased. Following the talks of the representatives of the two military formations and the agreement reached, all prisoners have been released, all

material and technical means returned, and all communications on the territory of the commune opened for traffic.

The aggressor's artillery fired a few grenades at the defense lines last night. (?In the same night) several tens of grenades were fired at the eastern parts of the commune.

Croats Report Attacks on Vitez, Fojnica, Zepce

LD0907171193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Excerpt] The most difficult situation in central Bosnia was in Vitez and Fojnica. The shelling of Vitez began last night. From their stronghold in Kruscica, the Muslim army opened artillery fire at the town center, killing two civilians and burning down a number of houses. The Muslim army launched an infantry attack this morning on several villages near Vitez, after which it shelled the town center once again from a stronghold near the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] base.

An all-out attack by Muslim forces on Fojnica has continued since this morning. Almost all defense lines in this area came under fire. The most difficult situation is in the villages of Bakovici and Gojevici, where one child was killed. The center of Fojnica has come under mortar fire. According the latest information, one Croatian Defense Council [HVO] soldier was killed in these battles.

The village of Blinje in Kresevo Municipality was attacked this morning. Kiseljak, however, was relatively quiet after three extremely difficult days and nights.

A Muslim attack on Zepce is under way. Five people were killed and six wounded in the shelling of this town. Despite the ferocity of these artillery attacks and infantry battles, HVO defense lines remained unchanged.

Only sporadic exchange of fire and mortar shell explosions were reported in Mostar today. [passage omitted]

Serbs Attack Croatian Positions in Gospic Area

LD1007084693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0805 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Shortly before 0700 this morning Croatian Army positions in the Gospic area came under attack by rebel Serbs. Several dozen shells were fired from the occupied territory on (Oranice) and the outskirts of Gospic, but no casualties were reported.

Serbs Turn Back UN Aid Convoy Bound for Gorazde

AU0907210993 Paris AFP in English 2101 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Sarajevo, July 9 (AFP)—A humanitarian aid convoy headed for the Moslem enclave of Gorazde in eastern Bosnia was held up Friday by Serb forces, the U.N. High Commission for Refugees said.

Serb troops forced UNHCR lorries to turn back towards Pale, the Bosnian Serb "capital" close to Sarajevo, after refusing them passage under the escort of the U.N. Protection Forces.

UNHCR spokesman in Sarajevo Peter Kessler said Serb units insisted that weapons carried by the French U.N. troops accompanying the convoy were not "appropriate" for the mission.

Gorazde, a U.N. designated "safe area," has been under siege by Serb forces for months. The last convoy to reach the stricken town was on June 22, which arrived without a military escort.

Since then the UNHCR has deemed it too risky to attempt to deliver aid to Gorazde without an escort.

Elsewhere, a convoy of 75 tonnes of fuel is still held up in Sarajevo airport with Serbs refusing to allow the convoy passage.

General Explains Decision

LD1007055993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2351 GMT 9 Jul 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 9 (TANJUG)—Deputy Commander of the Bosnian Serb Army Gen. Milan Gvero said on Friday that "combat material was found with the officers accompanying a humanitarian aid convoy" which was halted on Friday.

The Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA quoted Gen. Gvero as saying that "explosives were hidden in bullet-proof vests and under the uniforms of unprofor [UN Protection Force] members." Explosives and arms are not and cannot be part of humanitarian aid, Gvero added.

He said the Army of the Serb republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina would continue to allow free passage for all duly notified relief convoys, but said it "will not allow that humanitarian missions be used for the delivery of combat materials to the enemy troops."

The Serb republic's army had earlier discovered on several U.N. relief convoys arms and other combat equipment for Bosnian Moslems.

Muslim To Face War Crimes Trial

LD1207104593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1032 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, July 12 (TANJUG)—Ferid Besic, a Moslem from the village of Kozarac, near Prijedor (northwestern part of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina) was identified as the war criminal

who slit the throats of seven Serbs in this region, reported the Bosnian Serbs' news agency—SRNA.

This, the agency said, was determined after witnesses gave testimony and after examining Besic, who was arrested some 15 days ago.

Following the gathering of evidence and the pre-trial proceedings, Besic is to stand trial for war crimes.

UN Convoy of 1,000 Refugees Arrives in Travnik

AU1107201493 Paris AFP in English 1924 GMT 11 Jul 93

[Text] Travnik, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 11 (AFP) - Around 1,000 Moslem refugees were convoyed in U.N. trucks through battle lines Sunday, arriving at a refugee centre in the central Bosnian town of Travnik. A convoy of eight trucks arrived in the morning at Turbe, west of Travnik, on the front lines between the mainly Moslem Bosnian army and Serb forces, and shuttled the refugees in several journeys between Turbe and Travnik.

The centre, already home to some 700 refugees, was shelled late Saturday by Serb forces stationed on a hilltop overlooking the western part of the town. At least four people were killed, officials said. Another 23 people were wounded by the shells, 10 of them seriously. The centre was a former college transformed into a temporary refuge for Moslems fleeing other besieged enclaves.

Samija Kanafija, one of the centre's officials, said they were being shelled "nearly every day".

Most of the new arrivals Sunday were from the region of Doboj, currently controlled by Serb forces. Some of them were transported to Hanbila, a village north of Travnik, while the majority were to be spread around Travnik and its environs.

Bosnian army sources said that 1,200 Moslems were being held by Serbs militias in the Doboj region and were being forced to work for them. Several of the refugees who arrived here said they had been forced to dig trenches on the front lines for the Serb forces.

Silajdzic Calls For Troops From Islamic Countries

LD1107091893 Tehran IRNA in English 0814 GMT 11 Jul 93

[Text] Zagreb, July 11, IRNA—Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic urged Islamic countries to contribute more troops for Bosnia-Herzegovina, ahead of a summit of Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) in Islamabad.

"We shall ask our Muslim allies to contribute more troops under the auspices of the United Nations in B-H [Bosnia-Herzegovina]," Silajdzic told IRNA in the Croatian capital of Zagreb.

"We should've done so earlier... Maybe the catastrophe in Bosnia-Herzegovina could've been avoided if we had done so," he added in a short statement.

During their two-day summit in Pakistan on July 12-13, the 52 governments of the OIC will focus on the tragic developments in B-H.

The 12,000-strong UN Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) in the war-torn republic include a majority of West peace-keepers from France and Britain.

Muslims, Croats Discuss Safety of Aid Convoys

LD0907202493 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Report by unidentified correspondent]

[Text] Delegations of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] have responded to an initiative by the Republic of Croatia and its invitation and have arrived in Makarska where talks are now under way on the passage of humanitarian convoys in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The meeting began only in the late afternoon due to the difficulties of getting out of Sarajevo and have continued in the form of bilateral talks, drafting of documents, and preparations for the signing tomorrow of an agreement on the passage of convoys carrying humanitarian aid for the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Government delegation is led by Deputy Prime Minister Hadzo Efendic, and the HVO delegation of the Croat community Herceg-Bosna by Deputy Prime Minister Kresimir Zubah.

The arrival of both sides in itself shows the good will of the Croats and Muslims, thus the signing of the agreement is expected tomorrow whereby both sides will take responsibility for the safe and unhindered delivery and distribution of humanitarian aid without any discrimination on national or religious bases.

The Makarska talks are coordinated by Dr. Ivan Simonovic, deputy foreign minister of the Republic of Croatia. Representatives of the International Red Cross Committee, UNHCR, and UNPROFOR are taking part in the meeting.

Agreement on Free Passage for Aid

LD1007202593 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Excerpt] Representatives of the Croatian Government, the Croatian Defense Council, and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army have signed an important agreement on the free passage of humanitarian aid on the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The agreement was signed in Makarska today.

[Unidentified correspondent] Convoys bringing humanitarian aid to the Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina will again go to every enclave. The first one is to leave on Thursday, 15 July, at the latest. This is the gist of an agreement signed in Makarska today on the initiative of the Republic of Croatia by Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Deputy Prime Minister Hadzo Efendic, and Jadranko Prlic, president of the Croatian Defense Council of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna.

[Bein Granic recording] At least 1,300,000 people are threatened. This agreement was primarily concluded for humanitarian reasons, although most certainly it represents the beginning of restoring trust between the Croatian and the Muslim nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Boban Issues Appeal to Croats in Herceg-Bosna

LD1007144093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Following fierce clashes between the Muslim army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] last night, Mostar is relatively quiet today, while in central Bosnia Muslim forces are attacking Vitez, Busovaca, Kiseljak, and areas around Novi Travnik. This is Zdenko Vranjes reporting for Croatian radio.

[Vranjes] The Muslim army is trying to break through HVO defense lines near the village of Zabrdje in the Vitez municipality. It is also shelling the center of Vitez from howitzers and mortars. Numerous civilians have been killed and injured, and considerable damage has been inflicted.

A combined artillery and infantry attack on Busovaca has been under way since 0500. The HVO positions have been defended, but there have been many civilians casualties in Muslim shelling of residential suburbs of Busovaca.

A Muslim attack on the village of Zubici near Travnik is unabating. Over 100 mortar shells have fallen on the area since the attack was launched yesterday afternoon.

Mate Boban, president of the Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna, has sent a message to all Croats of Herceg-Bosna at a time when crucial battles for the survival of the Croat people are being waged. I am deeply aware of the responsibility that I and all of us bear, responsibility that must become an integral part of our life. I know that this is possible, and with your help we shall soon achieve happiness for every Croat home in Bosnia-Herzegovina; we shall have freedom, peace, and independence, and our fate will be in our hands, the message says.

Talking about irresponsible claims that this or that has been sold, the message says: We have never sold a single field to anyone else, and even less our homeland. Homeland cannot be sold, we can only fight and die for our homeland.

So I am telling the Croat people from the Sava River to the Adriatic Sea, in the Sava River basin, Usora and Sol, Komusina, Zepca, central Bosnia, Rama, and Herzegovina, that we shall defend what is ours. We shall ensure that all other nations living on our territory will get the same rights that our nation will have on their territory. We shall not demand an eye for an eye, but the Croat nation has a fine sense of justice and it will not be deceived.

At these difficult moments of suffering, I call on you all to rise above everything and to use the last atom of your strength so that we can reach the desired goal, the message, which Mate Boban, president of the Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna, has sent to the Croat nation, states among other things.

British Reporter Killed at Sarajevo Airport

LD1107142693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1336 GMT 11 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, July 11 (TANJUG)—British reporter Ibrahim Goksel was killed with a sniper shot at Sarajevo airport in the night between Saturday and Sunday, a representative of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) said on Sunday. He could not say who Goksel had been working for.

Goksel's body was found on the runway early this morning by a French patrol of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], the French new agency AFP reported.

Typhus, Dysentery Epidemic Imminent in Sarajevo

LD0907172993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Report from Sarajevo by correspondent Ranko Mavrak]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] (Tony Land), head of Sarajevo's UNHCR office, declared that 75 metric tons of oil should be delivered to the city today as a result of yesterday's negotiations in Pale. The oil shipment has been blocked at Sarajevo Airport for a week now, and is intended for hospital generators, water pumps, and the bakery. However, it is uncertain whether the arrival of the oil shipment will prevent the looming disaster. (Phil Casey), UNICEF's chief engineer in charge of Sarajevo's waterworks, told reporters today that only 15 liters of water a second are now flowing into the city and what has been feared the most is becoming a reality—five people have already contracted typhus and 750 dysentery cases have been registered. An epidemic is imminent.

Croats Deny Plans To Divide Bosnia With Serbs

LD1007143293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1328 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Zagreb, July 10 (TANJUG)—Croatia has resolutely rejected insinuations that it has reached an agreement with Serbia to divide up Bosnia-Herzegovina and that it had been among those who had proposed the division of this former Yugoslav republic into a confederation of states of Bosnian Moslems, Serbs and Croats.

A statement was released on Saturday [10 July] by the Defence and National Security Council of Croatia which held a session chaired by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. The statement underscored that the "Serb proposal on a confederal system" for Bosnia-Herzegovina had been supported in Geneva by the cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia. The Croatian side "proposed also other possible solutions for Bosnia-Herzegovina as a common state of three peoples," said the statement released in Zagreb.

Tudjman, together with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and cochairmen Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg attended the latest talks in Geneva when Bosnian Serbs and Croats had proposed that Bosnia-Herzegovina become a confederation of three national states.

The proposal was rejected by Bosnian Moslems on Friday. They maintain that Bosnia-Herzegovina should be a federal state.

A declaration adopted by the leaders of the seven most industrialized nations of the West (G-7) at their summit in Tokyo on Thursday said that only a territorial solution to which all three warring side agree will be accepted for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It was underscored that no solution would be accepted if it was enforced by Serbs or Croats and the two sides were threatened with expulsion from the world community and the witholding of economic or financial aid if they attempted anything along those lines.

The statement from Zagreb underscored that there were "no grounds for any pressure by the international community on Croatia," adding that "Croatia has not in any way provoked the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

However, since the beginning of the 16-month-long war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia has had tens of thousands of troops from its regular Army units actively engaged in the fighting there on the side of Bosnian Croats, in the beginning only against local Serbs, and since two months ago also against their former allies the Moslems.

The bloody clashes between Bosnian Croats and Moslems in central Bosnia and northern Herzegovina over the division of territories has brought upon Zagreb demands by the international community, including its main ally Germany, immediately to stop ethnic cleansing operations and the war with the Moslems.

Tudjman Vows Not To Cede Territory Around Dubrovnik

LD1007123993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Excerpt] In an open letter to [singer] Tereza Kesovija, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman stressed, among other things, the following: [announcer-read]

Your statement published in a number of Zagreb newspapers that you will kneel down to beg President Tudjman not to cede Cavtat, Konavle, and your Lovorno to our enemies urged me to address you not just in my capacity as president but also as a man who himself feels every anxiety of all Croats. I tell you there is no need for you or anyone else to kneel down to beg me not to surrender to the enemy either Konavle or eastern Slavonia, or Ploce or the Novigrad Bay. You can rest assured that I will do everything possible not to betray the vow to the homeland of so many endeavors and sacrifices made for the survival of the Croatian people and the freedom of the Croatian homeland.

I was, and still am, consistenly and resolutely in favor of defending full sovereignty and every inch of Croatian soil. I must, however, point out that our struggle and all our endeavors to achieve our eventual goal takes place in a world which has not showed enough sympathy and compassion for a sovereign Croatia. This is why this world has not helped us resist the aggressor. It recognized us only once the Croatian people had defended their freedom by their determination and sacrifices as well as their willingness to adjust the demands of their policy to international factors in the interest of general peace.

This is why we had to, and still must, demonstrate determination and good will in the course of examining all circumstances and problems so as to completely resolve our problems, or in other words, to possibly return without another war not only Maslenica, Dubrovnik, and Konavli into Croatia's fold but all the other areas that were temporarily snatched from us and which the Serbian imperialists want to annex to their greater Serbia.

Finally, please bear in mind that in very complex and grave circumstances, as conflicting interests in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia and its outcome are involved on the part of almost every major power, I, in my capacity as head of state, must always take account of the whole of Croatian interests, without losing sight of any bit of this whole. [passage omitted]

Defense Council Views G-7 Declaration

LD0907195693 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Excerpts] President Tudjman today chaired the 15th session of the Council for Defense and National Security. The Council examined the G-7 declaration and issued the following statement:

The Republic of Croatia welcomes the conclusions of the Tokyo summit of the G-7 and the EC representatives as yet another confirmation of a joint resolve to establish a safer and more humane international community—by increasing general cooperation—with the aim of eliminating the existing instability and clashes regardless of their causes. Croatia is prepared to contribute toward the organization of international relations on the basis of the principles of the inviolability of internationally recognized borders, human liberties, democracy, human rights, the rights of national minorities and ethnic communities, and the rule of law.

As a victim of the Yugo-communist and Serbian aggression, the Republic of Croatia particularly welcomes the efforts aimed at the establishment and consolidation of the international instruments for prevention and at finding a political solution to the conflict within the framework of the United Nations. Croatia will fully participate in the international community's resolute suppression and elimination of terrorism of any kind. The Republic of Croatia is counting on the support of the international community with regard to the urgent implementation of all UN Security Council resolutions and the establishment of the constitutional and legal system in its entire territory as envisaged by the latest Resolution 847 of 31 June 1993.

The Republic of Croatia warns of the urgent need to find a more effective solution to the largest refugee crisis in Europe since the end of World War II, given that it cannot bear the brunt of this burden alone. In keeping with this it calls for an increase in humanitarian aid distribution to all those in need, above all to refugees in the Republic of Croatia and to victims of war in the neighboring Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At the initiative of the Republic of Croatia, in the presence of representatives from the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, International Committee of the Red Cross, and UN Protection Force, a meeting is being held at the moment between the Croatian and Muslim sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina with the aim of reaching an agreement on the free passage of humanitarian convoys across the territory under their control.

The Republic of Croatia welcomes the statement of G-7 leaders in Tokyo giving support to the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, on condition that the agreement on its organization be realized on the basis of the principles of the London conference—the agreement of all three constituent nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Republic of Croatia wishes once again to recall that it was the first to recognize the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that it has been providing for more refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina than any other state, that the Croats from Herzegovina and Bosnia were the first to defend Bosnia-Herzegovina as their own state, and that they were the first to sign the Vance-Owen peace plan and constitutional arrangements for the future organization of this state. The Republic of Croatia has appealed to the UN Security Council to send observers along the entire interstate border, not just between Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is the best proof of Croatian policy's attempts to find a political solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

Rejecting insinuations of an agreement between Croatia and Serbia regarding the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina, we stress that the Republic of Croatia is taking an active part in the new round of Geneva talks, well aware of their importance for ending the war and the survival of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In addition to this the Republic of Croatia points out that the Serb proposal of a confederation was supported by the cochairmen, while the Croat side proposed other solutions with regard to Bosnia-Herzegovina as a joint state of the three nations. For this reason any pressure on the part of the international community on Croatia is unfounded, as Croatia did not cause the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina in any way. On the contrary, it has always done all in its power to help resolve the crisis as soon as possible, in the interest of its nations and peace in this part of the world.

Urged by the latest events in Bosnia-Herzegovina, we appeal to the international community to take an active part in finding an urgent political solution aimed at halting every possible aggression and protecting civilians, including the Croatian people who are most affected—those in central Bosnia.

Krajina Commander Says Croats Planning Offensive

AU1107160993 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Jul 93

[Report by Danko Peric from Knin]

[Text] According to the Press Center of the Krajina Serbian army headquarters, the Croatian Army has been active during the last 24 hours on the northern Dalmatian front. They have been using mortars against (?Cista Mala), (?Prokran), (?Vujci), and Trnavci, and antiaircraft guns on the village of Laskovica. The Serb fighters have responded to all these attacks. Krajina air space has been violated 17 times, according to the Press Center of the Krajina Serbian army.

Colonel Kosta Novakovic, who led the Krajina military delegation in Geneva, said at a news conference that just finished at the International Press Center in Knin, that this delegation met with the UN representatives five

times, but only once with the Croatian military delegation. The Croatian delegation wants to preserve the status quo, and is insisting on a local cease-fire in order to gain time for a mobilization of new forces. The Croatian Army's previous military delegation was more flexible than the extremists who attended the latest talks, Novakovic stressed.

Answering a question about the viability of Tudjman's promise to the citizens of Croatia that the construction of the pontoon bridge on Maslenica would begin on 18 July, Colonel Kosta Novakovic said that this area was under total Krajina control. We accept the establishment of a security zone along the 3 January 1993 demarcation line, where the UNPROFOR would take over a one kilometer area on both sides. The possibility of an attack is there. Croatia is only waiting for an excuse to launch an act of aggression, said the leader of the military part of the Krajina delegation. Ambassador Geerd Ahrens told us that he understood the Serbian problems and said that Croatia was no longer regarded as without sin, stated Colonel Kosta Novakovic at the news conference at the International Press Center in Knin.

He announced that talks would resume after the representatives of the peace conference on the former Yugoslavia have toured a part of the republic of Serbian Krajina, scheduled for mid-July.

RSK Defense Minister Says Confederation Not Possible

LD0907192393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1827 GMT 9 Jul 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 9 (TANJUG)—The Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) Defence Minister Slobodan Jarcevic, at a press conference in Belgrade on Friday [9 July], ruled out the possibility of the RSK forming a confederation with Croatia.

The RSK was proclaimed in the predominantly Serb-populated areas of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, after Croatia's forcible secession from the former Yugoslavia in 1991, because the Serbian people did not agree to their status being reduced to that of a national minority.

Croatia on January 22 this year began aggression on the RSK which has been a U.N.-protected area since March last year, trying to impose its rule there.

Jarcevic, commenting on the three-day Krajina-Croatia talks completed in Geneva on Thursday night, said international mediators Knut Vollebaek and Geerd Ahrens were "impatient, as the talks have been held since February without result."

"We pointed out that this was so because they have behaved as if the RSK did not exist. And it does exist, on the same principles as the recognized (former Yugoslav Republics) of Slovenia and Croatia," he said.

Jarcevic said the principles of the E.C. Badinter Commission, tailored specially for the former Yugoslavia, legalized Slovenia and Croatia's forcible secession, and that the people's right to stay in the Yugoslav Federation was subordinated to their right to secession.

"Now (Vollebaek and Ahrens) cannot explain to us why what applied to Slovenes and Croats does not apply to Serbs," Jarcevic said.

Reporters wanted to know what the RSK would do concerning Croatia's President Franjo Tudjman's statement that Croatia would reopen the Maslenica Bridge and Zemunik Airport (seized in the January 22 aggression) to traffic on July 18.

"We have nothing against Croatia using all facilities on our territory in keeping with international regulations, and we are ready to guarantee safety. We hope that we shall be able, on reciprocal basis, to use the northward part of the highway through Croatia," said RSK spokesman Vojin Susak.

Susak said that, according to land registers, the Maslenica Bridge, Zemunik Airport and Peruca hydroelectric power plant dam belonged to the people of the RSK and added that any attempt of a forcible reopening of the bridge would be treated by the Serb side as continued aggression.

UNPROFOR To Protest to Zagreb over 'Incident'

LD1107195593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1810 GMT 11 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG)—At around 1000 today an incident occurred between members of the Polish UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] battalion and the Croatian Army and police in the border area of Turanj, near Karlovac, an ISKRA [Krajina news agency] journalist has learned from the Topusko-based UNPROFOR sector north headquarters.

Tension erupted when local Croats decided to ban UNPROFOR members from passing over the Turanj border crossing. This decision aroused dissatisfaction among UNPROFOR members, particularly Polish soldiers, who were thus prevented from carrying out their logistics operations. The Topusko-based UNPROFOR headquarters said they would lodge an official protest with Zagreb.

In the meantime, also today, two Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees convoys accompanied by French soldiers were halted in Turanj. They are still awaiting permission to enter Croatia.

It has been unofficially learned that the border crossing near Karlovac was closed by the Croatian Army and police in Karlovac at their own initiative, without the knowledge of the government in Zagreb. One of the

reasons for this decision is an attempt to prevent the arrival of humanitarian aid to Muslims in Cazin Krajina which is transported from Karlovac through Kordun up to Velika Kladusa. However, the commands of units of the Serb Krajina army suspect that the Croatian side has prevented UNPROFOR from carrying out their observer mission because the Croatian Army has been engaged in sizable movements along the border with the republic of Serb Krajina.

Serbs Continue Attacks on Several Towns

LD1207084493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0805 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] There was no peace in the Zadar and Biograd region overnight. Novi Grad came under artillery attack, and several mortars hit the village of Galovac. Shooting could also be heard along the front lines throughout the night.

Both the towns of Biograd and Zadar are quiet this morning, but the general alert sounded nearly three months ago is still in effect.

Meanwhile, reports of fresh attacks launched last night are coming from Raslina in the Sibenik area, where Serbs fired some 10 shells. No injuries were reported, but the material damage inflicted is substantial.

Tudjman, French Officials Discuss Aid for Bosnia

LD1007183693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, today received the former French health minister, Bernard Kouchner, HINA agency reports. Kouchner was accompanied by the French ambassador to Croatia, Georges-Marie Chenu. Tudjman and Kouchner discussed possibilities of supplying humanitarian aid to the wartorn parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as efforts for ending the conflict and establishing peace in this state.

Zagreb Rally Protests Croat-Muslim Clashes

LD1007151493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Having observed a moment's silence to pay tribute to those who died for their homeland, a large protest rally has begun in Zagreb to the strains of the Croatian anthem. The rally was organized by the Home Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Croats and Muslims [Domovinska Zajednica Hrvata I Muslimana Bosne I Herzegovine] in support of a Bosnia-Herzegovina without ethnic divisions. Milena Jukic Ugrin reports.

[Jukic] The clashes between Croats and Muslims have jeopardized Bosnia-Herzegovina's future. We have gathered to protest clashes between Croats and Muslims and put an end to the bloodshed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Ante Ackar, president of the Bosanska Posavina community, said on behalf of the organizers. The rally was then acquainted with a joint statement and appeal by which Croats and Muslims, members of the home communities, oppose any division of Bosnia-Herzegovina and demand an alliance between the Muslims and Croats and their allied struggle against the aggressor as well as return to their homes. They are also demanding an immediate exchange of all captives and unhindered access for humanitarian aid to all places in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

An immediate end should be put to any talks on the carve-up of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the statement says. We protest those who want to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina and who, like Pontius Pilate, wash their hands of the crimes committed against the Croats and Muslims, Anto Kovacevic said, singling out the governments of France, Britain, and Russia, which have been protecting the Serbian aggressor since the very beginning. Sefko Omerbasic said the clashes between the Croats and Muslims directly threatened the survival of the Republic of Croatia and called for their alliance.

The entire Catholic Church, ranging from the pope to Bosnia's Franciscans, favors a united Bosnia-Herzegovina, a country of freedom, peace, and justice, Bosnian Franciscan Luka Markesic said at today's rally, terming this gathering a meeting of peace. Archbishop Kuharic's pontifical statement was also read at the rally.

The rally was also addressed by Ljubomir Antic on behalf of the Assembly commitee for human rights. He said an indivisible Bosnia-Herzegovina was in the interest of the Croats in that country and the Republic of Croatia. Telegrams of support for this meeting have been sent by Croatian Assembly President Stjepan Mesic and General Martin Spegelj.

Organizations Criticize Rally

LD1007203093 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Following today's protest rally in zagreb, the Presidency of the Croatian Community of Herzeg Bosna and the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina issued a statement dissociating themselves from the rally, and describing its organizers as a handful of idle petty politicians who fled from the the battlefield where a struggle for the survival of the Croatian nation is being fought.

Iran's Va'ezi, Valentic Discuss Bosnian Situation

LD1007104893 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0930 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Mahmud Va'ezi, deputy foreign minister for European and American affairs of our country, who is in Zagreb, met yesterday with Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic. They discussed the situation in the Balkan area and developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Condemning the alteration of the borders in that area by

force, Va'ezi called on the Croatian Government to use its influence among the Bosnian Croats for a swift end to the fighting between the Croats and Muslims.

Enumerating the negative effects of such clashes, Va'ezi said that the continuation of the fighting will result in the destruction of the resources of the Croats and Muslims. He declared: The clashes will in the long run have no results except the domination of the Serbs in the area. Referring to the need for the Muslims and Croats to defend their rights alongside each other, Va'ezi announced Iran's readiness to use all its influence to end the clashes. He stated: The Islamic Republic of Iran will ask the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Islamic Conference Organization in Islamabad for all-embracing support for the Bosnian Muslims. He added: The failure to lift the unequal arms embargo against Bosnia and the Serbs' freedom of action will result in the continuation of the war and the annihilation of the Muslims.

Expressing interest in expanding bilateral ties, the Croatian prime minister voiced his support for the independence and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He described the partitioning of that country as detrimental to the area. He welcomed Iran's proposal for ending the clashes between the Muslims and Croats. A plan is to be drawn up for this purpose.

The Croatian prime minister declared his country's interest in having good relations with Islamic states. He said that a fair resolution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina issue will result in closer ties between Croatia and Islamic states.

Activities of Council for Strategic Development

93BA1186C Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jun 93 pp 22-23

[Article by Zeljko Luburovic: "Unfounded Mystery"]

[Text] Why Ivan Aralica, the chairman of the Croatian Council for Strategic Development, refuses to talk to the media, by which he unnecessarily spins a veil of secrecy around the Council's work.

Ivan Aralica, Berislav Badurina, Prof. Dr. Jaksa Barbic, Dr. Slaven Barisic, Prof. Dr. Ivo Baucic, Prof. Dr. Zlatko Binenfeld, Prof. Dr. Marko Branica, academician Dalibor Brozovic, academician Zeljko Bujas, Prof. Dr. Olga Carevic, Dr. Sime Djodan, Prof. Dr. Miroslav Furic, Prof. Dr. Ivan Ilic, Prof. Dr. Ivo Jelic, Dr. Pero Jurkovic, Dr. Franjo Kajfez, Dr. Andrija Kastelan, Dr. Ivo Majdak, Ivica Mudrinic, Dr. Ivo Gorazd Nikic, Sevko Effendi Omerbasic, Brig. Gen. Slobodan Praljak, Prof. Dr. Emil Primorac, Dr. Jure Radic, Karlo Radolovic, Dr. Ivan Rogic, Prof. Dr. Davorin Rudolf, Prof. Dr. Smiljko Sokol, Eng. Hrvoje Sarinic, Prof. Dr. Miroslav Tudjman, Nikica Valentic, Mladen Vedris, Antun Vrdoljak, Prof. Dr. Alica Bauman, and Prof. Dr. Miomir Zuzul are supposed to be the 34 wisest people in Croatia. And that is because they were the ones chosen to propose the directions of Croatian strategic development. The strategy is defined for a decade in advance, so that a magnificent mind is indeed necessary for this task. Who knows by whose decision these 34 intellectuals were chosen as members of the Croatian Council for Strategic Development, which was founded a little more than a year ago.

Council Is State Body

At the time, it was presented to the public as an advisory body to the Office of the President of the Republic, which would propose priority areas in research and formulate ideas and proposals for reaching strategic decisions. The Council answers directly to the president of the Republic, and is presided over by writer Ivan Aralica, currently the vice chairman of the Assembly's House of Zupanijas, while its vice chairman is Dr. Slaven Barisic, a professor of physics in the Department of Natural Sciences and Mathematics at the University of Zagreb. Although Aralica himself will tell you that his presiding role is only a formality, ever since the Council's founding the public and media have in fact fallen foul of him. Aralica refuses to say anything in public about the Council's work, and in this way he is slowly spinning a veil of secrecy around it. But is there any mystery in its operations?

There should not be any mystery, especially since the Council is a state body, and nowhere is there any indication that its activities are secret. It was conceived of to function through committees for economic development strategy, the legal system and administration, interethnic relations, national security, regional development strategy, scientific and cultural development, and infrastructure development. It is clear that the problems that the committees associated with the Croatian Council for Strategic Development are supposed to deal with correspond most of all to the current problems that Croatia faces. Is not the real topic that brings together members of the Committee for Strategic Economic Issues the international community's tacit economic embargo against Croatia? Or is it not more than necessary that the members of the Committee for Croatian Regional Development come together and discuss the IDS [expansion unknown] attempt to change the zupanija border through the "national happening" method? Similarly, in accordance with the state policy of reviving the negotiating process with local leaders of the Serb irredentists in Croatia, is it not also necessary to hear the opinion of experts from the Committee for Interethnic Relations of the Croatian Council for Strategic Development? All the more so since in developed democracies these and similar questions are systematically examined in studies on strategic questions, which have not infrequently produced high-level statesmen and ministers of foreign affairs of relevant world states. Ivan Aralica will patiently listen to all these questions, but will coyly refuse to say anything more substantive for the public, aside from adding that the Council is currently in some sort of transformation.

It appears that everything in our country is proceeding at a slower rhythm, so that to this day the 34 (supposedly) wisest members of the Croatian Council for Strategic Development have not presented their assessments to the public. Unlike in Western countries, where views of the development of world trends signed by a member of a center for strategic studies carry particular weight, in Croatia there were doubts about the composition of the Council from the very beginning, and thus doubts about the relevance of any of its conclusions. Moreover, its members themselves have contributed to this, because even when they have made public appearances they have never stressed that they were appearing on behalf of the Council. Some are inclined to say that everything that the members of the Council do in their everyday lives is de facto a part of their involvement in the Council's work. Thus, the essay by Ivan Aralica published in SLOBODNA DALMACIJA can be interpreted as his advice on Croatia's strategy toward, say, Bosnia-Herzegovina. But given the fact that the Council has never publicly presented its positions, it can be freely concluded that it serves the president of the Republic and him alone, or perhaps that it does nothing at all. Judging from what some of its members say, the latter seems more likely.

Members Without Information

Academician Dalibor Brozovic says that he has not received an invitation to a Council meeting in more than six months, and as far as he knows there have been neither committee nor plenary meetings. He does not know why this is, but he adds that because of his own obligations it would actually be hard for him to find time to work on the Council. But work for this body is allegedly volunteer, although the state finances any of its projects. Precisely for this reason, there is and can be no place for secrecy concerning the Council. In contrast to Brozovic, Sevko Effendi Omerbasic, the head imam of the Islamic Community for Slovenia and Croatia, seems to know why the Council's work is at a standstill. "Ask the Council chairman, who is more involved in politics than in his own profession," Omerbasic says, adding that "we have not even met for an entire year. I joined the Council because at the time I felt that it made sense to participate, but now I do not know how things are to proceed. I simply have no information." Like Brozovic, Zlatko Binenfeld does not know what is happening with the Council, although its members came together several times before May 1992. He thinks that Ivan Aralica and Council chairman Dr. Slaven Barisic should comment on this.

Given the fact that the Council has not met for quite some time now, it is expedient to ask why Aralica is avoiding answering these open questions. Similarly, it is expedient to raise questions about the work of the Council and about the fact that its membership includes people who over the course of time have become either emissaries of the Republic of Croatia and have left the country to perform their duties, or have become prime ministers, chairmen of economic chambers, ministers, or directors of the Office for National Security, while some hold so many posts that it would be hard to even enumerate them. For example, Antun Vrdoljak, who says that he performs a large number of his duties practically on a volunteer basis, can hardly be someone who can satisfy the demands of the task where strategic issues for Croatia are concerned. Some consider the question of whether someone's intellect has become able to cope with this task to be more relevant, but the work of the Council for Strategic Development demands a sort of asceticism. But Ivan Aralica thinks that precisely because of that asceticism the Council must be freed from public pressure.

But is that possible?! Especially since even upon the establishment of the Council questions began to be raised about whether certain other proven intellectuals could not be part of it, such as Krsta Cviic, Stevan Dedijer, Ivan Supek, and others. To say nothing of artists, who could contribute substantially to the strategy of cultural development.

Moreover, even upon the establishment of the Council questions were raised about regional representation, so that the need for its restructuring, as well as its reactivation, is nothing more and nothing less than a strategic imperative for Croatia. In that case, this means that the Council must work unhindered as an advisory body to the president and that the infrastructural problem of studying strategic sciences must be solved at one of the Croatian universities.

Western Model

Especially because the intelligence that Croatia possesses should be united in one place, from which answers and appraisals of events like the most current one—the war between Muslims and Croats—can arrive on a daily basis. This is not a question of the moment or of tactics.

This is a question of the Croatian state and of the Croat nation, and for that reason a prompt response to it is needed so that the fruits of that response can be gleaned in the long term. One such question is the disposal of radioactive waste, as well as environmental protection in general. Is not the problem of the border with Slovenia, but also the future of relations with Serbia, another such question? In the rest of the world, institutions like the Croatian Council for Strategic Development provide relevant responses to such questions. But when will this Council adopt the Western example?

Croatian Policy Toward Bosnia Analyzed

93BA1186A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jun 93 pp 7-8

[Article by Ivan Sabic: "Do Croats Need Boban?"]

[Text] *Alija Izetbegovic is not the only one who thinks that getting rid of Mate Boban or curtailing his influence on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which would be*

achieved by dissolving the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna, would eliminate many problems, both in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Croatia.

"Mate Boban is not the same thing as the Croat nation," Alija Izetbegovic said last week, explaining that his military is not at war with the Croat nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the same time that the military was capturing Croat towns around Travnik. Two days later, Izetbegovic was received by President Tudjman in Zagreb. Allegedly, Izetbegovic offered a "constructive" proposal on that occasion: "You replace Mate Boban and tell us who on our side is bothering you, and they will be replaced." Probably figuring that after replacing Minister of Internal Affairs Jusuf Pusina and the chief of the Main Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, Sefer Halilovic, he has the right to influence who will perform what function in the Croat political leadership in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Naturally, Alija Izetbegovic is not the only one who thinks that getting rid of Mate Boban or curtailing his influence on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which would be achieved by dissolving the Croatian community [HZ] of Herceg-Bosna, would eliminate many problems, both in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Croatia. There is not a single opposition party in Croatia that has ever reconciled itself to the existence of the HZ Herceg-Bosna. The leader of one of them contends that the HZ Herceg-Bosna is a thorn in the side of Croatian politics that must be surgically removed, while it is obvious that even within the ruling party there is no uniform opinion on Croatian policy in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

However, just as the intensification of the fighting between Croats and Muslims is prompting increasingly vocal demands in Croatia for the dissolution of the HZ Herceg-Bosna and for personnel changes in the Croat leadership in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the increasingly widespread notion in Herceg-Bosna itself is that fighting to the end is the only way out of the current situation, although there are also signs of fear of a possible reversal of the Republic of Croatia's policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina that are under HVO [Croatian Defense Council] control, a reversal would elicit a feeling of being handed over to the good graces of the numerically superior Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, while in areas with a Muslim majority it would help allay tensions and improve the situation of the Croats there. Although the likelihood that there will be an essential reversal in Croatian policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina is minimal, it is a fact that many are inclined to say that Tudjman now faces the dilemma of whether he wants Croatia or Herzegovina. Or rather, does he want Croatia in its post-Second World War borders or Croatia without its occupied territories, but with the addition of the parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina that Croats manage to maintain under their control?

Nonexistent Dilemma

The only question is whether this dilemma can be real, even in the event that Croatia openly takes steps to annex the parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina with a majority Croat population. Because the existence of the dilemma implies the existence of some mechanism through which the international community would help the righteous to realize their rights while punishing those who attempt to take away that which is not theirs. But for more than two years of war in the former Yugoslavia, no such activity has been observed. Accordingly, by sacrificing Herzegovina, regardless of whether this means renouncing the existence of Croat national territory in Bosnia-Herzegovina or abandoning the intention to annex that territory to Croatia, Croatia would still fail to resolve the problem of its occupied territory. The only positive effect on the foreign-policy stage would be the possible avoidance of sanctions. All in all, the Croatia or Herzegovina dilemma actually does not exist.

The fact is that Croatia is most directly blamed by other countries for the state of Croat-Muslim relations and for everything that has ensued from these relations. German Minister of Foreign Affairs Klaus Kinkel has stated clearly that it is not possible to "relieve Tudjman of the responsibility that he bears," and Croatia is blamed for incidents that have happened under circumstances that do not even cast any suspicion on the HVO, and that have no connection whatsoever with Croatia. (The most striking example is the killing of a Spanish officer from a UN unit in Mostar.) The possibility that Croatia will continue to be blamed in the same way in the future would be eliminated by dissolving the HZ Herceg-Bosna and placing HVO units under the command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, but that—besides the possible avoidance of sanctions—would be the only positive result of that move (for Croats and for Croatia).

New Form

The HZ Herceg-Bosna and the HVO are an expression of the desire of the Croat nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina to give material form to their contribution to the defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in this way to preserve their right to be one of the three constituent nations of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This sort of aspiration is not hard to understand at a time when fighters for a civil Bosnia-Herzegovina call their national party the leading political party, seeking in this way to secure for it the leading role in political life as well, while Izetbegovic willfully extends his term as the head of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

Naturally, the territorial community of Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina need not correspond exactly to the HZ Herceg-Bosna. For example, it does not have to have motor vehicle license plates that are practically identical to those in Croatia or issue a series of postage stamps at a time when condemnation of Croat policy in Bosnia-Herzegovina is raining down from all sides, but there is no doubt whatsoever that it will exist in some form.

The Vance-Owen plan and the Medjugorje agreement on its implementation to the furthest possible extent provide a good opportunity to adapt the form to circumstances. This change in form is being discussed in circles

that shape Croatian policy. These same circles are saying that there should be certain personnel changes in the Croat leadership in Bosnia-Herzegovina, so that the change in form could be used as a good opportunity to diminish the influence of the president of the HZ Herceg-Bosna, Mate Boban. Although there is still no talk anywhere of who the new top Croat in Bosnia-Herzegovina would be, it is probable that Boban's sins are being carefully noted. These clearly include several clumsily worded letters, of which the most dust was raised by the one sent to Cardinal Kuharic, but the letter sent to UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] Sadako Ogata will not go unnoted either, in which he requests a free exit and safe passage from the central parts of Bosnia for those Croats who desire that. Citing the names of places from which Croats should be provided the possibility of evacuation, Boban mentioned—besides Sarajevo, Zenica, Kakanj, Tuzla, Zepce, and the cities in the Usora valley—Vitez, Busovaca, Kiseljak, and Fojnica as well, which can be interpreted as the intention to hand central Bosnia over to the Muslims for some reason.

Reliance on UNHCR

Although the reason was not given, it can be surmised by reading one sentence from the letter in question: "Our repeated warnings about the critical status of Croats in Travnik, expressed during the visit by the former UNHCR commissioner for the former Yugoslavia, Jose Maria Mendiluce, the incorrect assessments that he and your organization put forward in this regard have caused a tragedy of enormous proportions, resulting in several hundred Croat casualties and several tens of thousands of exiles, due to the aggression by the Muslim military." Accordingly, the leadership that was playing the card of giving material form to its merits in the defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina and to the right of the Croat nation to equal status in a future Bosnia-Herzegovina attempted to defend the territory of the HZ Herceg-Bosna by relying on the kindness of the UNHCR, and this at a time when the Croat-Muslim war for living space in Bosnia-Herzegovina had entered a phase in which it was practically impossible to halt it.

It is not easy to determine with certainty who is really responsible for the suffering of Croats in central Bosnia. The mutual recriminations will not stop until one side loses its base of support. Unless in the meantime the situation in central Bosnia changes to the benefit of the Croats through successful military action.

In LE MONDE, Alija Izetbegovic spoke of Muslim units as "the regular army" and says that there was no attack whatsoever in Travnik; rather, this was an "operation to liberate Bosnian territory." It is hard to restore the alliance after such harsh words, so that the tactical dissolution of the HZ Herceg-Bosna, without subordinating the HVO to the "regular army," can mean nothing more than a gesture of good will that could be exploited through the media for a few days.

Already coming to the end of his third year as president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Izetbegovic has forgotten that he is the first among equals in that body and that he is the leader of one of the three nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Indeed, the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna came into being precisely because of the possibility that Izetbegovic would forget that his conversation partners are Mate Boban, as the chairman of the leading Croat political party, and Miro Lasic and Franjo Boras, as members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

Power Reductions Unavoidable in Dalmatia

93BA1177D Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jun 93 p 4

[Article by Zeljko Buksa: "How Much Power Will Peruca Deliver?"]

[Text] Zagreb—At this point, it is probably clear to even the most inveterate optimists in Dalmatia that it is most likely that it will not be possible to fulfill the government's promises that there will be no power reductions after the beginning of July in Dalmatia. What is more, instead of removing them, the Croatian Electric Power Industry [HEP], with the blessing of the Ministry of the Economy, will soon probably have to adopt still more severe reductions than those we have had up to now.

There are several reasons for this turnaround of the situation. At the time when representatives of the government promised removal of the reductions, the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was quite different than at present, and every day Dalmatia was receiving about two and a half million kwh [kilowatt-hours] of electric power from the hydroplants on the Neretva. But that energy idyll was spoiled in the situation today by the beginning of conflicts between Croats and Muslims, and the agreed delivery of power to Dalmatia was suspended following damage to the long-distance transmission line near Konjic, and the water is flowing uselessly through the hydroplants on the Neretva. When we add to this the drought that has been recorded for a long time now, it becomes clear that the government was not making thoughtless promises, but that unforeseeable circumstances have prevented them from being fulfilled.

So, the question now is where to go from here so that in the worst scenario Dalmatia avoids complete darkness? After all, the load-dispatching department of the HEP for Dalmatia is even now requesting from the Ministry of the Economy a lengthening of the reductions to 14 and indeed even 16 hours a day in order to cut back daily consumption from 3.3 to two and a half million kwh. When we add to this the statement by Marko Lovric, chief dispatcher of the HEP for Dalmatia, to the effect that the last reserves of water are being consumed from the Busko Blato and Peruca storage reservoirs, the only reliable sources of power, it is clear to everyone how serious the situation in Dalmatia is. And it would be still more serious if the HEP had not made a good decision in

time not to cut back the reductions by draining the reservoirs, but to preserve them as much as possible for the dry summer months.

Some relief might come from the recent connection of the Dubrovnik and Peruca Hydroplants to the network, but there is some question of how big their output will be. Above all, because of the low level of water in the reservoirs, which will continue to fall because of evaporation, the diminished inflow because of the drought, and because of consumption, and it must not be forgotten that the Dubrovnik Power Plant receives its water from eastern Herzegovina, which is under the eye of the Serbian forces. And the destruction of Peruca and unexpected conflicts between Croats and Muslims in Herzegovina have shown that in wartime one should never count for certain on power plants which are in or near a war-torn area.

There is also a question of when the life-saving kilowatt-hours will come from various intervention power plants, so that, if only some of the possible adverse circumstances coincide, the HEP dispatchers could soon face once again the very thankless task of deciding whose amounts of delivered power to cut back—households or industry, above all, the large consumers.

After all, households are even now living on the edge of normal life, and a reduction of the already considerably reduced quantities of power to industry would cause a complete collapse (even now daily losses because of the power cutbacks are estimated at 3 million German marks [DM]), while numerous employees would be left without jobs and earnings. And the summer has just begun, and there is a big question as to what lies ahead for Dalmatia in the next several months before the anticipated autumn rains.

The most absurd news in the entire situation is that Bosnia-Herzegovina is obtaining most of its power from thermal electric power plants at Kakanj and Tuzla, which were largely built with Croatian money, while Dalmatia is threatened more and more with even complete darkness. What is more, the Electric Power Industry of Bosnia and Herzegovina is calling upon authoritative institutions in Croatia and the military and civilian authorities in Herzegovina to repair as soon as possible the damage to the long-distance transmission line as though the Croats, for whom power from the hydroplants on the Neretva is vitally important, were hindering that.

Commentator Views G-7 Declaration

AU1207084593 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Report by Edo Zitnik from Tokyo]

[Text] The economic interests of the G-7 are mutually dependent and often contradictory to such an extent that even the tiniest agreement involves seven compromises. The Tokyo summit is no exception, as the economic image of the G-7 is poor but each member sees the reasons for it elsewhere. It is, therefore, logical that each side had to give way in Tokyo if they wanted at least to conclude the summit in the atmosphere of optimism—Europe by promising further steps to reduce interest rates, the United States with a medium-term reduction of its budget deficit and an increase of savings, and Japan with measures for greater economic growth which is supposed to boost domestic spending.

At the end of what was seemingly a successful summit, everybody, and most of all the G-7 leaders, were well aware of its fatal flaw. Because of the compromises involved, the declaration is generalized, and rather than being a binding and a time-specific document, it is merely a list of measures that should be implemented, while nobody dares to forecast when and how.

The talks about bringing down mutual trade barriers met a similar fate. Here Japan, as the host of the summit and, thus, the party most interested in its success, was forced to yield slightly more than the United States and Europe.

Lowering or abolishing customs duties in 18 economic sectors is, of course, an important achievement following the Uruguay round. However, it should be borne in mind that the negotiators are yet to face the most strenuous part of the work concerning agricultural produce and the service industry.

The G-7 is, of course, as much an economic a forum as it is a political manifestation. Because of President Yeltsin's presence, the G-7 did everything to support him more than just verbally. Three billion dollars to kick start the privatization program is more than Russia could have hoped for, especially because of the territorial dispute with Tokyo and the by no means isolated opinion that aid to Russia at present simply means throwing money into a bottomless pit. However, Tokyo's greatest endeavor was Bosnia-Herzegovina. The talks about Bosnia were actually not part of the official talks, and therefore the passage of the political declaration referring to Bosnia is merely a masterpiece in rhetoric that best demonstrates how [word indistinct] of the solution to the crisis the G-7 is.

Government Officials Involved in Arms Trade

93BA1163H Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 16 Jun 93 p 3

[Article by Bojan Grom: "Retiree Is Dealing in Arms"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Jun—For some time now the predicted arms scandal, in spite of attempts by individuals to obtain specific information in connection with the Slovene arms trade, has not yet become public. One of the principal reasons is quite certainly the fact that this scandal will certainly be the last one, as happened in the case of Nova Gorica's HIT, and nails may be driven into the coffins.

We know that there would be no arms trade if the state and individuals in it, in power in one way or another, were not involved. There are several people responsible for these risky transactions, of course, but there are not very many of them: It can be done by the state, which legally procures weapons for its army; it can be an organization that is authorized for it or does not have authorization; and finally, it can be the underground.

When we speak of the arms trade in Slovenia, we have to consider two periods, which are by no means insignificant. They are the time before the aggression against Slovenia and the period after it, when, according to our informants, the arms trade here was still only ordinary crime that involved (and still does) extremely large profits. While individuals, with the blessing of the state leadership, purchased weapons for the needs of defending Slovenia, its sovereignty and independence, the majority of them, immediately after the legal purchases (all of them were recorded, and some of them were even described by Defense Minister Janez Jansa in his book *Shifts*), were seriously tempted, since they noted that the arms trade is one of the most profitable "trades" at this point in time.

States throughout the world recognize the arms trade, but they do not recognize resale, not least of all because more or less all illegal arms deals have ended badly, both for the the one carrying out the "assignment" and for the middlemen and the final recipients, who by some unwritten rule generally did not have licenses to buy weapons.

That was approximately the case here and still is, but the temptation from such profitable deals was even greater for some of our "merchants" because "luckily for them," virtually all the Balkans are just one crisis area, which will never give up shipments of arms or the payment of commissions, from which it follows that no one even asks about the price.

Very few names have appeared here in connection with the unripe arms scandal, and the "bungling" reporters at that time were not yet able to confirm them for certain.

One of the names is Franci Kosi, who for some time was an adviser to former Interior Minister Igor Bavcar. While he was an adviser, he was known abroad as an exceptionally gifted expert on weapons. Then suddenly something happened, and the refined gentleman with an expensive BMW, usually parked on the grass between "well-known" Ljubljana blocks, had to pack his bags and retire. It was allegedly because he had cost the state a full

million marks through negligence. He slipped up somewhere in Poland, and had to return to his homeland without the money and without the weapons. His punishment: retirement!?

So far no one has yet confirmed or denied this, but we found out from completely reliable sources, who have their own "weapons" in papers with "incriminating" contents, that Franci Kosi is only retired on paper, to the extent that he receives a quite high pension, while he is still engaged in the wholesale arms trade. He acts as one of the middlemen and is the first member of a chain that the state represents in these deals. Our sources claim that in this scenario it is personified by Bogo Brvar, state secretary in the Interior Ministry, who flatly denied his involvement in arms sales publicly, and is also known for not allowing interference by experts (Pavle Celik!) in the case of the man who some time ago, because of mental illness, spent two days frightening travelers with explosives and threatening reporters at the Fernetica border crossing.

The above-mentioned connection, according to some reports, is still working very well, but of course the deals do not take place without other middlemen before the goods reach the customer or end user. In the latest case, involving a shipment worth $200 million, the last middleman—sorry, middlewoman (before the direct involvement of a foreign citizen in this deal)—was a certain Mrs. M. B. from Ljubljana, and then on the other side of the border V. J., a foreign citizen, took over everything and controlled it. Let us state in this regard that all arms deals take place in cash, that roads, the air, and the sea are used for transportation, and that the amounts of weapons are measured in tractor trailers, which carry freights of even up to 30 tons in their containers. With respect to all this, it would be interesting to know who is acquainted with the arms connection and who is supporting and encouraging that activity. Is it just the money, the piles of money that is divided into (un)equal piles after the payment of commissions? Is Interior Minister Ivan Bizjak acquainted with the business of "his" state secretary and the retired adviser? In any case, the arms trade is a very profitable business, which will not be hidden much longer from the curious eyes and ears of the Slovene public.

Data on Trade With Yugoslavia

93BA1163I Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 16 Jun 93 p 9

[Article by Tone Krasovec: "Possibilities in the Former Yugoslav Market"]

[Text] We will obviously have to trade with the new states like any other foreign state; that market cannot represent any significant lever for reviving the Slovene economy.

Ljubljana, 16 Jun—When we wrote in our newspaper in the middle of last year's hot summer that with all the disagreements and difficulties between Slovenia and Croatia over trade, it would be most sensible to propose to our neighbors that we pay each other in convertible currencies for goods and services, it sounded somewhat visionary, since we had lived for so long in a joint state. Since the situation deteriorated further and in trade, economic logic is inexorable, now even the Croats think that the above proposal, which was still too bold last year, is feasible.

If we take that as an allegory for our economy's cooperation with the former Yugoslav republics (and after the end of the war conflicts, with the present Serbian-Montenegrin Yugoslavia as well), we will return to our assertion that we will obviously have to trade with them like any other foreign state. In this regard, let us also emphasize that we have to investigate what those markets can actually mean for us now and in the future.

Let us start with the observation that the planners of Slovene economic policy announced during the budget discussions, and that affected many businessmen like a cold shower—we cannot count on the former Yugoslav market as any significant way out of our economic crisis and for reviving the Slovene economy. The Slovene public has been informed that with Yugoslavia's collapse, we lost at least a third or even half of our trading area. The truth is somewhat more modest.

Exports and Imports to the Former Yugoslav Republics (share in the Slovene economy's total sales and purchases)

Commodity Flow	Share of the Yugoslav Republics (in percent)		
	1990	1991	1992
Yugoslav exports in total Slovene sales	24.8	17.3	6.5
Yugoslav imports in total Slovene purchases	21.6	15.1	5.7

Source: Public Auditing Service [SDK], "Current Economic Review," April 1993.

The above table indicates that before separating from Yugoslavia, we sold it a quarter of our goods and bought a fifth of our purchases from there, which is still a great deal, certainly, but nevertheless less than many people are emphasizing. It is true that toward the end of the 1980's that trade was even livelier, when it was already reduced somewhat by Serbia's rather unsuccessful ban on purchases from Slovenia, when our authorities banned the "Serbian truth rally" in Ljubljana (by the way: thank God). Unfortunately, we tried to compensate for the decrease in trade with the former Yugoslavia more in the small Slovene market than abroad, both because of our economy's modest export competitiveness and because of economic policy's insufficient stimulating effect. During the years 1990-92, the structural share of the former Yugoslav republics in total Slovene

sales of goods declined by 18.3 structural points (that is the actual market loss), which we compensated for by a 10.9 percent structural share in the Slovene market and a 7.4 percent structural share in "real exports."

Regular payments, of course, are also part of regulated trade. Without wanting to diminish the Slovene economy's difficulties as a result of the loss of the Yugoslav market, toward which our production was oriented to a considerable extent, one should also tell the whole truth about payments, naturally taking into account the fact that we always sold more than we bought there.

Claims and Obligations to the Former Yugoslavia (share in the Slovene economy's total claims and obligations)

Payment Flow	Share in Structure (in percent)		
	1990	1991	1992
	(31 Dec)	(31 Dec)	(31 Dec)
Claims upon Yugoslav customers (in total Slovene claims)	32.9	19.1	7.7
Obligations to Yugoslav suppliers (in total Slovene obligations)	20.9	10.3	4.3

Source: SDK, "Current Economic Trends," April 1993.

Consequently, with the decrease in the volume of Slovenia's trade with the former Yugoslav market, mutual obligations and claims have also declined considerably. Nevertheless, judging by the structure, the volume of the Slovene economy's claims is a full nine-tenths larger than its obligations to suppliers in the former Yugoslav republics, and thus an extreme burden to the Slovene economy. The damage is actually even greater, since Slovene enterprises have written off a tremendous amount of these claims; in the final accounts, about 11.7 billion tolars were set off against their results, but they were still left with 12.6 billion tolars in net claims. The claims that were written off represent almost a third of the total write-offs by Slovene enterprises in last year's final accounts, while last year the volume of trade with the former Yugoslav republics, in both directions, only amounted to a twentieth of the Slovene economy's total sales and purchases (including sales and purchases in the Slovene market).

According to the SDK's findings, last year 84 percent of the 1,527 large and medium-sized Slovene enterprises covered did business with the former Yugoslav market, which is a great deal. Among those that were included in these transactions, however, for three-fourths of the enterprises the Yugoslav market meant less than 10 percent of their total sales last year, and for eight-tenths of the enterprises, less than a tenth of their purchases. With respect to the significance of cooperation with the former Yugoslav republics, the Slovene economy is thus "painting the devil blacker than he actually is," if we look at the current situation from the standpoint of the loss of that market and the quality of the partners. From the other point of view, it also means self-consolation and connivance in excessively modest export competitiveness, which is much worse. If the state had managed to regulate economic relations with Croatia and Macedonia on a reasonable basis during this period, most things in the Yugoslav market would have been settled by now. Even fortune-tellers do not know when the Balkan war will be over, however.

Federal

FRY Urged To Accept UN Monitors on FRY-Bosnia Border

LD0907200193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1933 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Podgorica, July 9 (TANJUG)—The government of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro on Friday suggested to the government of the F.R.Y. (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) to accept a demand in U.N. Resolution 838 on posting U.N. monitors on the border between the F.R.Y. and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The F.R.Y. Government had earlier announced it had nothing against U.N. troops overseeing the two countries' border but from the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, not from that of the F.R.Y.

The Montenegrin Government holds that admitting the U.N. monitors is the chance of convincing the international community that Yugoslavia's assistance to Bosnia is only humanitarian and that the sanctions against the F.R.Y. are completely unjust. The U.N. sanctions were imposed last year on the F.R.Y. for its alleged military assistance to Bosnian Serbs in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Not one F.R.Y. soldier is taking part in the 16-month-old civil war waged among local Moslems, Serbs and Croats because of the Moslem leadership's intention to turn Bosnia into a Moslem-dominated unitary state. Simultaneously, some 50,000 soldiers of the state of Croatia are taking part in this war on the side of Bosnian Croats, while, among the Bosnian Moslem units there are 3,000-5,000 Mujaheddin or mercenaries from Islamic countries, according to estimates by Western media.

The Montenegrin Government also said in its proposal to the F.R.Y. Government that the F.R.Y. had officially upheld the Vance- Owen plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina which embodies clear-cut provisions on international observers and the neighbouring countries' obligation to help enforce the control of the Bosnian borders. The proposal also said that the F.R.Y.—Serbia and Montenegro—with rejecting U.N. Resolution 838 and U.N. monitors, would lose a certain improved position thay had now gained.

The Montenegrin Government pointed to the fact that the international community had not yet undertaken concrete moves to appraise the constructive Yugoslav efforts towards the resolving of the Bosnian crisis, but it did assess that these efforts could furnish the basis for the F.R.Y.'s exit from the current crisis.

Lilic Sees 'No Reason' for Monitors

LD1007215593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2122 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, July 10 (TANJUG)—"There is no reason whatsoever for the deployment of foreign monitors" along the border between Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina, President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Zoran Lilic said in an interview which will be published in the Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES on Sunday.

Lilic, however, left the issue open and said it was "extremely complex." He said he would strive to have Yugoslavia and the international community "always find a compromise solution when their views differ."

Lilic said Yugoslavia was ready to cooperate all the way with the international community but the international community, itself, had to acknowledge the elementary standards of international relations and, among other things, respect Yugoslavia's sovereignty and integrity.

Foreign monitors on the border between Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina are to make sure that Yugoslavia is sending only humanitarian aid to the Serbs across the border. The aid in funds, raw materials and semi-manufactures was suspended by the governments of Serbia and Yugoslavia after Bosnian Serbs rejected the Vance-Owen peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The former Yugoslav republic has been ravaged by an ethnic war between local Serb, Croats and Muslims for 16 months.

Turning to domestic affairs, Lilic said it was necessary to place national interests above the political. He said he would call a meeting of representatives of all parliamentary parties and leading parties with no seats in parliament to discuss the issue.

"The citizens will say in the next elections who has done how much," Lilic said.

The safeguarding of peace in Yugoslavia and the securing of peace on the territories bordering with it is a priority task, Lilic said.

Lilic also listed as priority tasks the safeguarding of Yugoslavia's territorial integrity, "the freedom of political decision-making in the country in elections, respect for democratic institutions, the acknowledgement of the legitimacy of the elected authorities, and respect for one's own right and the right of others to the freedom of expression."

The Yugoslav president said he would fully cooperate with the presidents of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro, Slobodan Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic, respectively.

Asked to comment the call on Yugoslavia to revoke its decision to deny further hospitality to the CSCE mission, Lilic said hospitality had not been denied to the CSCE mission but the mission had extinguished itself with its own behaviour.

"The decision should be solely viewed as a wish of the Federal Government for Yugoslavia to be treated as an equal partner within the CSCE, and in no case as an

attempt on our part to hide something or to come into a confrontation with the international community," Lilic said.

"We cannot be expected to look upon with favour when someone is offering to thei world a distorted picture about us and making our anyway difficult position even worse," Lilic said.

The mandate of the CSCE monitoring missions in Serbia's provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo and Metohija, where most of the members of the Hungarian and Albanian minorities live, and in the region of Raska, which is populated by Muslims, expired on June 28. The Federal Government took the decision not to extend the mandate in response to the CSCE's decision not to permit Yugoslavia to return to its ranks. Yugoslavia's membership in the CSCE was frozen last year.

During the latest extension of the CSCE missions' mandate two months ago, Yugoslavia clearly let it be known that it would not be able to agree to any further extensions unless its status of an equal CSCE participating state was restored.

Official Assesses Talks With CSCE as 'Positive'

AU1107162293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Jul 93

[Text] Regarding the FRY Government decision to suspend the CSCE mission in Kosovo and Metohija, Sandzak, and Vojvodina, talks were held yesterday and the day before in Stockholm between Nikola Cicanovic, assistant to the FRY foreign minister, and high-level CSCE officials. The talks were aimed at clearing up misunderstandings and finding a solution. Nikola Cicanovic was today the guest of our Sunday at 1000 program, and this is what he said about these talks, among other things.

[Begin Cicanovic recording] I would say that it was very important and useful after such a long spell without any contact between Yugoslavia and CSCE—ever since we were suspended—to hold a high-level meeting. We exchanged information and views concerning the relations between the FRY and the CSCE. Within that framework, the talks addressed certain problems that were raised on this occasion. That exchange of views was very open and detailed so I think there are no longer any doubts or misunderstandings regarding the views of the two sides. This would be one of the [word indistinct] results.

Another result that is important for us is that we had a chance to present our case clearly and unambiguously to a respected number of CSCE high-level officials—that the FRY and its government are in favor of cooperation on an equal basis, on the same grounds the CSCE was formed, and that we could and want to solve all issues arising between the two sides, including the long-term continuation of these missions and so forth, but on that basis and within a normal and equal cooperation. I believe that the talks were good and positive. [end recording]

Background on Overthrow of Cosic

93BA1173B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 21 Jun 93 p 5

[Article by Kresimir Meler and Mirjana Glusac: "Behind the Scenes of Cosic's Departure"]

[Text] *Milosevic and the generals loyal to him carefully planned "operational activities" against Cosic and Panic; fateful secret meeting with the generals.*

From our associates.

"Fall, fall, little butterfly fall, fall, government" was played not so long ago by the 'Naughty Children,' whom we know from Zagreb's youth radio. As they explained themselves, the game goes as follows: Someone, usually an influential group, forces the government (that is the name, of course) to walk across a slippery footbridge over a deep chasm. While the poor thing catches its balance, the others try with all their might to make it slip, or confuse it in such a way that it will slip itself and totter into the depths. Clearly this group then seizes power.

Obviously such a game is also being played by Slobodan Milosevic, for whom the removal of Dobrica Cosic was only an overture to much more far-reaching steps on the way to full power and the establishment of the [FRY] as a unitary state that would annex to itself "all areas where Serbs live." The leaderships of the FRY and Serbia were apparently indisputably of one mind, but well-informed and reliable sources say that appearances are deceptive. Specifically, when Milosevic asked Serbian Defense Minister Marko Negovanovic and the Security Administration, i.e., Nedeljko Boskovic, at the beginning of April for an opinion on whether it would be possible "in the near future to undertake the unitarization of the FRY and the annexation of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] and the Serbian republic to the Yugoslav Republic," the answer that he received in a few days was anything but encouraging. As it stated, one could perceive "serious opposition to that method of settling the future of Yugoslavia and Serbia. The source of this opposition is in the present Montenegrin leadership and the opposition parties there, as well as the figure of Dobrica Cosic and the group of generals loyal to him, led by Colonel General Zivota Panic, who, out of fear of an imaginary intervention, is not organizing offensives on the scale that is possible." Of course, these criticisms were not all, and thus this report went on to accuse Dobrica Cosic and Zivota Panic of "in cooperation with some people from the RSK, planning its independence and even an alliance with the Croatian Republic, which would make all the casualties to date worthless and establish a puppet leadership headed by Milan Babic and others (...)." At that time they already saw a "way out of the situation" in limiting Dobrica Cosic's powers and strengthening the influence of Slobodan Milosevic and the political and other forces that support him.

Meeting in Zemun

Nothing improved even when Cosic dismissed Boskovic and Domazetovic. On the contrary, before leaving for Macedonia the Serbian president met at the air force and air defense headquarters in Zemun with air force and air defense commander Bozidar Stevanovic, chief of the air force and air defense intelligence service Radomir Sekulic, retired chief of the Yugoslav Army [VJ] Security Administration Nedeljko Boskovic, likewise retired deputy chief of the VJ General Staff Ljubomir Domazetovic, Panic's current deputy, Lt. General Dragoljub Simonovic, Serbian Defense Minister Marko Negovanovic, Mihalj Kertes, and Major General Vuk Obradovic (who was, by the way, the coordinator of the "generals' purge" last May).

At that meeting, Milosevic explained that "on the basis of the information collected by Nedjo (Nedeljko Boskovic—author's note) and his colleagues, he had learned that Cosic, with his group and some people from the opposition, would like to assume full control over the army and police, and also over foreign policy. Serbia and Yugoslavia and the whole Serbian people have already sacrificed too much to give in now like toadies to the enemies and world powers and allow some sort of writers to deny them the right to live all together in one state. If we allow those people to shape the fate of Serbia and Yugoslavia, then we will go back to 600 years ago, since Mr. Cosic and Draskovic are linked to Turkey and are consequently even prepared to permit the establishment of a Muslim state on Yugoslav soil someday. A great deal of important work thus awaits us. In the coming days, I intend to go to Macedonia to see Gligorov. I will try to persuade him that in exchange for our intervening with the Greek authorities to recognize Macedonia, he should take care of scheduling a referendum on unification with Yugoslavia, or at least moderate border procedures. Then we would establish some joint enterprises with joint capital, in which we would be the real owners and through which we could import everything that is under the embargo (...). Of course, I will also raise the question there of the Serbian population in Macedonia, and its right to political and cultural autonomy (...). I am convinced that in the meantime a solution will be found to block those who would like to become the leaders of the Serbian people because of their own sick ambitions...."

Vuk Obradovic also spoke up and said, "Of course, we must not leave the Serbs outside Serbia, especially the ones on Croatia and Bosnia, in the lurch. All the conditions for annexation to the FRY have been met. The obstacle is the attitude of Cosic and part of the General Staff, and also some people in the Krajinas, for example Spanovic and Cegovic, who have already even tried to negotiate with the Croats, which I personally prevented (...)."

It was furthermore decided at that meeting that it would be necessary "to intensify operational activities against Cosic and Panic and the other generals and representatives of political parties, and also against some journalists and other public figures. Particular attention should be paid to the possibility of protest rallies that would be organized by the enemy of the Serbian leadership (...)." They agreed on the final deadline, which was 31 May.

It turned out that the patience of Boskovic and company paid off. Milosevic was actually offered an ideal opportunity to get rid of Cosic by Cosic himself, when the latter ill-advisedly met with Zivota Panic, KOS [military counterintelligence service] chief Radenko Radinovic, and a group of sympathetic generals, including also Blagoje Adzic, Milutin Kukanjac, and Dobrasin Prascevic. They were all convinced that they would be secure in the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs apartment that was provided by Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic, but they were wrong. They did not even dream that they were being bugged.

As well-informed and reliable sources can state, Dobrica Cosic explained to those present that he had called them together because "the group of politicians who had remained seated in power and authority intends to seize power and make the FRY some sort of new Serbia, which would not endure long in the present situation without internal conflicts. They have recruited Seselj, who, just like Arkan, has a guaranteed existence abroad if everything does not turn out well for them. They control the Federal Assembly's voting apparatus, and I am convinced that in a few days they will try to seize power again, with the support of those whom I retired because they wanted to seize power by force. It is therefore necessary to remove Boskovic and his people from your offices at the General Staff and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, by force if necessary. As far as authorization is concerned, I am giving it to you. Slobodan cannot act as the commander in chief, and I am convinced that you agree with me on this. Even you, Zivota, took him to Krusik, instead of me, and you, Stevanovic, to Smederevo...." Zivota Panic: "I know, Mr. President, but I could not have done any differently.... Nedjo sent a car for me and Domazetovic went with me. When I arrived in Batajnica, Stevanovic, Sukulic, and Boskovic were already there. Marko (Negovanovic—author's note) came with Milosevic, and then all of them except me reported to him. Slobodan insisted that we take him to Krusik and show him those missiles. I was against it, but Bozo and Nedjo insisted. And then they also announced publicly that foreign intelligence services had obtained information on our trade, cooperation with Iraq, and relations with others. I immediately warned them that it should not be done like that and that you were the president and commander in chief, but Nedjo retorted that you were a poet and that Milosevic was the only one thinking about the Serbian people's interests." Radinovic: "We have some recordings (...) that they would overthrow you, Mr. President, with Seselj's aid, and consequently I am proposing to you that you call them together and tell them that they should not play with fire. Look, for a long time now they have been

eavesdropping and gathering information on both you and Pavle and Momir Bulatovic. In order to achieve what they want they will also engage in blackmail. They filmed Zivota's daughter and sent him a video cassette. Pure pornography. They also filmed several other sons and daughters. It was all organized by Vuk Obradovic. They are now preparing to overthrow the president and to eliminate Montenegro as a republic. They also have a lot of plans concerning politicians and journalists there, and consequently I propose that they be informed about this."

It was decided on the same evening that Nedeljko Boskovic, Bozidar Stevanovic, and Ljubomir Domazetovic would be called to a meeting that very morning, and that they would be warned that they could expect serious trouble if they wanted to overthrow Cosic. It was not that simple, however. When Boskovic appeared at Topcider, in fact, he already knew what they had talked about, and consequently he warned Radinovic that he knew that he and some officers were preparing to arrest Seselj and Arkan and try them for war crimes, "even though they are people who are loyal to their homeland and have contributed to the Serbian cause. We also know that you prevented Seselj from being informed about important matters, even ones affecting his personal safety, even though he is a deputy and he has every right." ("What about the other deputies?" Bosko Kelecevic interrupted.) "The others are not as deserving. We received an order to take care of Seselj." ("And who gave it to you?" Radinovic asked.) "It was given by the president, Milosevic. Let me point out to you that you have to cooperate in preserving the constitutional order in Serbia, because all sorts of other things will happen. As president of the majority people, Slobodan Milosevic has an absolute right to control the VJ and the intelligence service (...)."

The Last Straw

On that very same day, Boskovic met with Milosevic and Kertes and told them what Radinovic had told him. At the same time, the recordings of Cosic's meeting with the generals were sent to the chairmen of the Socialist Party of Serbia and the Serbian Radical Party deputies' clubs, with a recommendation that they "study all the circumstances well, along with the consequences that could be expected if Cosic remained in his present position." As additional proof, Milosevic and his clique also obtained a recording of Cosic's talk with Pavle Bulatovic, retired General Miodrag Jokic, and KOS chief Radinovic, from which it could be understood that "upon the slightest attempt or indication that Milosevic's faction wanted to seize power, it would be necessary, in cooperation with the opposition parties, healthy forces in the Security Administration and the Defense Minister, and also in the police, to restrict the movements of Slobodan Milosevic, Vojislav Seselj, Marko Negovanovic, Nedeljko Boskovic, Branko Kostic, Ljubomir Domazetovic, and Zeljko Raznjatovic, and block the forces that support them (...)."

That was the straw that broke the camel's back. Cosic was removed the next day.

Serbia

Milosevic Decides To Release Draskovic

LD0907182293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic decided to pardon Vuk Draskovic, the detained leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, and his wife Danica.

President Milosevic's statement on the pardon was broadcast at the beginning of the Dnevnik news bulletin on Belgrade TV.

Milosevic's Statement

AU0907182093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Statement issued by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic]

[Text] Good evening esteemed viewers, shortly before this news program we received a statement from the Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, which we carry in its entirety:

The events that have followed the criminal proceedings against Vuk Draskovic [leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement], and which are based on the law, are creating a very ugly picture. The participants in these events, particularly those from the ranks of the opposition, are only disgracing this country. I think that these events are below the dignity of this nation and that the course of these events should therefore be stopped immediately.

The countries that were the initiators of the blockade of our entire country and the entire Serbian nation—because of our people's struggle for freedom and equality—and that are planning and carrying out punitive measures of genocide against our people, because of which even the newly born children are dying, are organizing a real political and media witch hunt against Serbia in the name of humanity.

Although I personally consider Vuk Draskovic responsible—and I believe that the citizens of Serbia who followed the events in front of the Federal Assembly feel the same—neither him nor such responsibility deserve to be abused to that extent in such an anti- Serbian campaign conducted by our enemies, just as some opposition leaders, who want Draskovic to disappear in order to take his place, competing in the media as to who will appear more caring for his health, do not deserve that this state does any work, and especially some ugly job, for them.

This is why I think that an act of abolition should be adopted for Vuk Draskovic, except for his responsibility for the physical attack on policeman Ilija Djuric.

In addition, I think that no one in this country should be subjected to humiliation, including Vuk Draskovic. He would certainly be subjected to this if he was freed without his wife.

From the letters he sent from prison to my wife and from everything she told me about this, there is no doubt that they are deeply attached to each other and that their feelings should be respected.

Therefore, I have decided to include Danica Draskovic in this act of abolition.

This was stated in a statement issued by Serbian President Milosevic.

Ministry Announces Draskovic Release

AU0907195493 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Before we announce the war chronicle, here is some information that we have just received.

The Justice Ministry of the Republic of Serbia has announced that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's decision on clearing Vuk and Danica Draskovic of any responsibility has been implemented, and Vuk and Danica Draskovic have been released.

Draskovic Statement

AU0907204293 Paris AFP in English 2030 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, July 9 (AFP)—Opposition leader Vuk Draskovic was freed by the Serbian authorities late Friday after President Slobodan Milosevic said he had decided to release him.

Speaking at the clinic where he was being held, a pale, emaciated Draskovic thanked France for its role in the decision to release him.

France "succeeded not only in releasing Vuk and Danica Draskovic, but in saving the truth, in reviving hope within a democratic Serbia", he told AFP in an exclusive statement to the French press.

"I am tired, very tired", he said.

Draskovic was in the ninth day of a hunger strike begun in protest at his detention on public disorder charges after his arrest, along with his wife Danica, at a demonstration on June 1.

To Remain in Hospital a Few Days

LD0907211093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2022 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, is feeling good this evening, but he will remain in the hospital for another few days, TANJUG was told by Dr. Gojko Stojcic, member of the council of doctors of the Serbian hospital complex. Draskovic will then continue treatment at home.

Danica Draskovic is still in the hospital but is allowed to leave the clinic whenever she wants, Dr. Stojcic said. It was recommended that she undergo physiotherapy, which will most likely be arranged at the institute for therapy in Sokobanja Street in Belgrade.

Milosevic 'Capitulated to Pressure'

AU1207073093 Paris AFP in English 0103 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, July 12 (AFP)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic "capitulated" to world and domestic pressure when he released opposition leader Vuk Draskovic from detention, his wife Danica Draskovic has said.

Milosevic pardoned Vuk, who was on a hunger strike, and Danica Draskovic on Friday, saying the couple's case was being exploited by "Serbia's enemies" in a "political and media campaign against the country."

Vuk, the Serbian Renewal Movement leader, and Danica had been arrested on public disorder charges after a June 1 anti-Milosevic demonstration turned violent. A policeman died in the disturbances.

Milosevic retained one charge against Vuk, that of assaulting a policeman.

Speaking from a neurological clinic in Belgrade, where she and her husband are being treated for wounds allegedly inflicted by police during and after their arrest, Danica Draskovic told AFP Sunday: "They kept one charge to try to show that they had not capitulated completely, but actually we are the winners."

"The pardon is in fact a capitulation by Milosevic in the face of international and domestic opinion."

She said she was guilty only of a desire "to break this regime," calling Milosevic's government "Stalinist."

She paid tribute to the foreign pressure that had led to their release, particularly that of France. Danielle Mitterrand, the wife of the French president, had seen Milosevic a few days beforehand to press the Draskovic's case.

But she was "astonished" that the West was still negotiating with Milosevic over the Bosnian-Herzegovina crisis despite the Serbian president's having made no concessions.

"By continuing to negotiate with Milosevic, western states are in fact enhancing his position.

"They are treating him like an angry dog that one tries to pacify, but it is clear that such tactics yield nothing."

Danica is due to leave the clinic Monday. Doctors have advised Vuk to stay in the hospital a few more days as his body needed more time to recover from the hunger strike.

Background on Danica Draskovic

93BA1156D Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jun 93 pp 27-29

[Article by Nenad Lj. Stefanovic: "Danica Draskovic, Iron Lady: Dana's Gambit"]

[Text] Political adversaries regard her as an aggressive and excessive person, criticize her for her lack of manners, her tone, and her vocabulary, and say that she craves power. Rejecting charges that she is aggressive, Danica Draskovic emphasizes that she simply respects justice and must react to every injustice. "I am as intense as I need to be to avoid being impassive," she says of herself. "And I am strong, that is how I feel. This is the age of the iron lady."

Although they planned and presaged a lot for this June ("I think that the warm air is going to make something explode," "tension will be the greatest in June... time for a 'manly move'"), it would have been hard for Vuk and Danica Draskovic, even in their darkest forebodings, to predict that they would spend their 20th anniversary (10 June) beaten black and blue in Belgrade's Central Prison instead of surrounded by family and friends. They could have been even less able to anticipate that instead of a few telegrams from those same relatives and friends who did not forget the date of their marriage, numerous diplomatic messages concerning them would arrive in Belgrade, in which statesmen such as Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis or French President Mitterrand would demand their release from prison. Or that Lord Owen would bother Milosevic with the same demand in the middle of his dinner.

Clearly, Vuk and Danica Draskovic's best man, Dr. Vojislav Seselj, deserves part of the indirect credit for this anniversary "celebration" in the rather unusual prison setting and with many bloody suffusions and blows over their entire bodies. Some people are of the opinion that the events in the Federal Assembly—the removal of Dobrica Cosic from office and the incident in which deputy Mihailo Markovic was injured—were in fact part of a Seselj-Milosevic (and vice versa) scenario calculated to provoke an emotional reaction by Vuk Draskovic and result in his arrest, after which Draskovic would be permanently eliminated from the political life of Serbia.

Gacko, Srebrenica

Unlike SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement] leader Vuk Draskovic, who had some amount of prison experience following the March 1991 demonstrations, his wife Danica, a member of the SPO Main Committee, ended up in the prison hospital for the first time. People who had the opportunity to see her say that she received injuries incomparably more serious than those of her husband and that the signs of police brutality against Danica Draskovic are visible to the naked eye. Thus, after many years of being subjected to verbal beatings by the state media and of systematic vilification of them and their party, Vuk and Danica Draskovic have now been subjected to a sort of [words indistinct] by the police, in which she got the worst of it. Rather contradictory reports are arriving from the prison hospital concerning the mental state of this rebellious woman who in recent months has sharply divided the public through her frequent public appearances and "forked tongue": According to some, even bandaged for her wounds and the consequences of the beating, Danica Draskovic is not losing faith that the day will soon come when the communists are driven from power; according to others, everything that has happened to her in recent days, especially the police torture, has taken her to the brink of considering throwing in the towel and getting out of politics.

It is utterly clear those who have devoting any attention to events on the Serbian political scene in recent months that the police brutality in dealing with Danica Draskovic is not primarily a result of what happened, or of what was said in the Federal Assembly on the night between 1 and 2 June. On that evening, Danica, who has lengthy "revolutionary experience" dating back to 1968, and who has long presaged major demonstrations after which the regime must fall, called on the assembled crowd before the steps of the Assembly building to enter the Assembly and transform it into a true people's assembly, "if they are the Serbian people." "If we are a nation, then we should push these 15 policemen aside, pull down everything necessary, and then wait for morning and show the radicals how to fight."

It turned out, however, that this was not the demonstration after which the regime "must fall," that everything was too spontaneous and too unorganized (unlike the time when Milosevic "institutionally and noninstutionally" shattered the authorities through street action), and that everyone was caught somewhat off-guard by the course of events. This was true of Danica herself, whom some well-meaning person on the steps of the Assembly allegedly reproached by saying that her elegant dress was not exactly suitable attire for skirmishing with the police. It also turned out that Danica did not have a good assessment of the nature of the electricity that was coursing through the assembled masses that night—the majority of those present were indignant at and revolted by the spectacle of socialist-radical primitivism and the arrogance from the Assembly, but did not have any ambition to take over the Assembly. This and other assemblies around Belgrade have indeed been taken over by many people—from the workers of Borovo and Rakovica to the mothers of soldiers forced to die in undeclared wars—but without any results.

However, the police brutality against Danica Draskovic was something that in this type of system appears

completely logical after her recent appearances on broadcasts of NTV [Independent Television] Studio "B." Her assertion that today Vuk would defend the Muslims who are victims of ethnic cleansing in his native Gacko, not the Serbs who have brought disrepute upon themselves, was something that the public, long prepared by propaganda to the effect that the Serbs are waging exclusively "defensive and just wars to protect their population from new genocide," could not swallow. The fact that this assertion by Danica Draskovic was later "denied," whereby everything was practically affirmed by the words "that Muslims have been killed, but less than the Serbs," and that "there are in fact none of them left in Gacko," but "they left voluntarily in Serb trucks," did not help much to reduce the number of people who regard her as a "traitor" to the Serb nation. For the police and those who are in charge of everything, the last straw was apparently another statement by Danica Draskovic, recently made in an interview with "TV News": "Look, I beg you," she said at the time, "this is horrible, this lie being told by Dobrica Cosic and Slobodan Milosevic, that we are not waging war in Bosnia, while we know that Srebrenica was captured by Yugoslav military forces deployed from Bajina Basta. We know that because we have people there who saw it—there were 280 tanks, and all the surrounding Muslim towns were pelted with gunfire until they were transformed into a bloody pulp. If we had said this in time, perhaps we could have saved some town, some child...." After these words were voiced, Sokolovic's and Bogdanovic's boys, apparently recruited primarily from the borderlands and from Kosovo, only had to wait for the first auspicious opportunity to "act under orders" and beat her up.

Pledge to the Communists

It appears that much of Danica Draskovic's life revolves around prison. Many years ago, as a magistrate, Danica refused to send several unemployed persons to jail, justifying her action by saying that "society cannot punish people for not working if it does not guarantee them the opportunity to work," after which she lost her job. She was fired twice for her "hillbilly inflexibility." She was born at the end of the war in Kolasin, the third of nine children in the Boskovic family, but from an early age she was the "oldest" in terms of family voting rights. Her biography must inevitably include the fact that she comes from a Chetnik family ("my father was not very active, but he was in the Chetnik movement"). She apparently inherited from her father the belief that the communists would not last long ("after the war, he said perhaps a month or two..., a year"). This belief later became the central tenet of her political activity, almost a pledge that the communists would be removed from power during her lifetime.

"Politics is an ugly business," she once said, "but I will continue on this course because I have a goal: that the communists go, that all the injustices that have been inflicted on this nation be rectified and that people get their confiscated property back, that all the Serbs killed by the communists be properly buried, to say nothing of the fact that they have driven us to hate one another...."

Danica Draskovic performed the job of reforming "deluded communists" most of all in her own home. When asked some time ago by a hostile journalist why she says that "the communists must be beaten" when her own husband was a former communist, she responded that Vuk was a communist "only in transition, in order to get a job at TANJUG," and that the communists must be beaten "because otherwise they will not leave." On another occasion she said, somewhat in jest: "The only blemish in my hard-fought and illustrious political biography is that I fell in love with a communist. The mitigating circumstance is that he came over to our side."

The basic reproach that Danica Draskovic occasionally directs at her husband, but also at the entire opposition, is the lack of radicalism and the belief that anything in Serbia can be changed by parliamentary action. Her view of politics is very close to political voluntarism ("I am not dangerous, but I do think that anything is possible") and close to those who believe that anything in politics can be achieved through shortcuts. She also reproaches her husband for the epic long-windedness of his political speeches. "Vuk is a man," Danica Draskovic says, "who will not say things like I think they should be said, succinctly and clearly. Great politicians are very simple people and speak a simple language, so that everyone understands them. Our people have absolutely no understanding of this. Just look at Micunovic: He talks for 20 minutes, but I do not know what he has said. Vuk also likes to use metaphors, but I would like for him to say whatever he is saying clearly...."

Very often Danica Draskovic has had the occasion to explain the nature of her influence on the SPO leader, which is usually believed to be very strong. One of the "police eyewitnesses" who was present at the arrest of Vuk Draskovic alleged several days ago in POLITIKA that Vuk, in his broken-hearted and disappointed state, supposedly complained "that once again Dana had pushed him into all this, against his will." In contrast to this police perspective on matters, Danica Draskovic says that it is hard, almost impossible, for her to influence Vuk when key questions are at stake. "He is willing to give in on small things, which creates the illusion of influence. If I had any influence, the SPO would be much more radical in its struggle with the communists, it would exert greater pressure. They do so sluggishly, while I would be quick and to the point."

To the charge that her political ambitions have been on the rise in recent months (such charges have come from within the SPO as well), which can be concluded in part from her new post on the Main Committee of that party, Ms. Draskovic has responded by saying that she wants to give legitimacy to her political activity in order to fend off talk that she is interfering in Vuk's politics. "Vuk's wife is a politician, just like Vuk, but no more so," she explained in a newspaper interview.

Umbrella and Bottle

Danica Draskovic's involvement in politics began long before the founding of the SPO. Newspaper chroniclers noted her participation in women's protest gatherings in front of the Federal Assembly (at the time, she was in Olivera Katarina's shadow); some people contend that she was also involved in the famous rally in Novi Sad against "autonomists," when the water and electricity were turned off, and at protest gatherings in front of the Albanian and Romanian embassies. Later, at a picnic at Ravna Gora, she stormed the special troops, and it was recorded that at one showdown with the police in front of the Serbian Assembly she even used her umbrella. At a lunch in Valjevo in 1991 organized to honor the transfer of the relics of Nikolaj Velimirovic, a rancorous discussion with a companion of Karadzic and his insults directed at the policy of Vuk Draskovic and the SPO ended with her breaking a wine bottle over the head of her discussion partner. It was recorded that Dr. Karadzic, as a doctor, was the first to come to his aid, while Danica Draskovic, like any "robust Montenegrin," announced that "we will meet again."

Political adversaries regard her as an aggressive and excessive person, criticize her for her lack of manners, her tone, and her vocabulary, and say that she craves power. Rejecting charges that she is aggressive, Danica Draskovic emphasizes that she simply respects justice and must react to every injustice. "I am as intense as I need to be to avoid being impassive," she says of herself. "And I am strong, that is how I feel. This is the age of the iron lady."

The ugliest words about her have been spoken and written by the best man at her wedding, Vojislav Seselj. After a short period of joint opposition activity by Vuk Draskovic and Seselj (together with Mirko Jovic), the lengthy friendship and sponsorship fell apart and the reciprocal attacks began. Seselj accused Danica of being Vuk's boss, and said that he was "the mere executor of her sick desire for power" and that she had an enormous amount of money obtained from Serbs in the diaspora stashed in her purse. Vuk asserted that Dana was a "slave to the party," and that Seselj "is neither slave, nor secretary, but rather chairman of his party." Duke Seselj and Mirko Jovic, at the time close to the newspaper VELIKA SRBIJA, published an article alleging that the story about the parting of ways between the SNO [Serbian National Renewal] and SPO was actually the story of Danica Draskovic, "that Lady Macbeth of the Serbian circuit, whom Goethe once called an archivist." Danica Draskovic has never remained beholden to Seselj. She has contended that his conduct is in the spirit of the saying, "bite the hand that feeds you." In an interview with Novi Sad's NI-SVET in April of this year, she said, "Voja is such a punk and coward that if he did not have those security men around him... OK, let him come fight with me, I will break him in two like a cat. Any woman can whip him...." Asked by a journalist during this same interview whether Milosevic will get rid of Seselj some day, she responded, "I pin my hopes on Mira in this. I sincerely hope that she does not like Seselj, that is contemptuous of him and that she will do everything to get him away from her husband."

In her fighting style, Danica Draskovic has also referred to many other current Serbian heavyweights in similar fashion. She has called President Slobodan Milosevic "an unscrupulous and intolerant person," while promising that she will fight to bitter end to see to it that his unjust rule suffers defeat and that he ultimately leaves. Several months ago she got rather angry at BORBA journalists who in her opinion did not have the courage to publish part of an interview with her in which she said that she regretted that she did not have the opportunity to "punch Arkan in the face" when he "paraded down the Terazije thirsty for the blood of Serbian youth." On the same occasion she informed Milosevic that nothing would come of his anticrime campaign until he ordered Arkan's arrest.

President Milosevic, who apparently in the meantime has developed a hankering for political trials, has decided for now to try keeping Vuk and Danica Draskovic in prison, while the suppression of the entire SPO is also in sight. Pessimists in the opposition ranks say that this is only the beginning and that very soon we will return officially to a one-party system. TV broadcasts have shattered the illusion of a parliament and parties anyway, Vuk and Danica Draskovic were the first to fall into the trap, and the rest should only be a technicality. Disappointment is also being voiced to the effect that this type of Serbia does not deserve Vuk Draskovic, but others are also saying that Vuk and Dana Draskovic did not understand Serbia. The Serbs are an insurgent nation only in myth and oral tradition, in real life they are hard to set in motion, they permit much of this to happen to them, and penury and humiliation are apparently more likely to make them complacent than to awaken in them a desire for resistance. What is happening today and the dictatorship that is approaching are painful only to those who have entered onto this stage; most other people are even indifferent, provided that they avoid some tax or any confrontation with a state personified by 70,000 policemen. This majority that Danica Draskovic called to the steps of the Federal Assembly and of which she was "ashamed" apparently would not even become very rebellious if tomorrow Milosevic were to deprive them of their right to vote.

Optimists, in turn, think that all is not that bleak and that everything can be regarded from another angle, as "Dana's gambit," an opening in which her and Vuk's stay in prison would be the sacrifice that would lift the opposition up from its current monotony and sterility to offer some sort of political alternative to the regime. Those who are well-acquainted with Danica Draskovic say that the blows dealt her will certainly not deter her from her purpose, and they expect her to come forward with some "foul-mouthed" message shortly, even if from prison. For example: "Vuk and I are going to celebrate our next anniversary 'at our house on Lake Geneva,' and Slobodan Milosevic and his wife are invited, naturally

together with Mila Stula (who invented this 'house' on TV Belgrade)—to clean up the house."

Thessaloniki Mayor on Friendship With Serbia

93BA1177A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jun 93 p 7

[Interview with Evgenios Hantidis, mayor of Salonika, by Mirjana Kuburovic in Belgrade; date not given: "Hantidis: Even If It Had Been More Difficult, We Would Not Have Abandoned You"]

[Text] It perhaps sounds like rhetoric, but there is no question at all that troubles are the best time to acquire friends. In these unenviable times of the Yugoslav crisis, which many say is a Balkan crisis that even threatens the world, the Greeks have shown that "something" links them to the Serbs. Mr. Evgenios Hantidis, mayor of Thessaloniki, says of that "something" that it is a mutual love between the Serbian and Greek peoples.

"I myself do not have roots in Serbia, but my entire family and I—and indeed the entire Greek people—feel a love for the Serbian people. The reason for that is certainly our common history, because we have never been enemies, we have always been on the same side, we have always been alongside one another. Another, certainly the most important, reason for this is that the Greeks and the Serbs belong to the family of small Orthodox peoples, and Orthodoxy is exposed to many attacks at this moment. There are, then, quite a few reasons for cooperation: We have to defend Orthodoxy. Mr. Mitsotakis, Greek prime minister, and Mr. Milosevic, the president of Serbia, understood and felt this, so that they are always together in an effort to contribute to restoration of peace in the Balkans we share," we were told by Evgenios Hantidis, mayor of Thessaloniki (Salonika), during a recent one-day visit in Belgrade. Mr. Hantidis visited our city with a humanitarian convoy from Salonika.

Attitude Toward the "Serbian Question"

Recalling that he had been in Belgrade 18 years ago, actually only spending one night on a trip to Italy, Mr. Hantidis said that he hoped that he would come to our country many more times in the future, with humanitarian aid greater than this first shipment. He added:

"Everyone in Greece is ready to help the Serbs, the Greek Orthodox Church is ready and able to help as much as is necessary, but permits are hard to obtain from the United Nations. We waited almost two and a half months for the permit for this humanitarian convoy. But we will not give up."

Asked why the Greeks are helping the Serbs and how people in Greece look upon the so-called Serbian question in Yugoslavia, the mayor of Salonika said:

"We are on your side because we look at events in the former Yugoslavia objectively. Unlike certain other countries, we not only know the truth, we want to accept it. In watching some reputable world TV networks, we have realized that there are those in the world who do not want to know the truth, or it does not suit them to have it reported now. I would give just one example: We know from history what Serbs in certain parts of the former Yugoslavia experienced in World War II, what kind of massacres they experienced. Whoever wants to face the truth must say that—precisely because of the past, which is not that far back, but also because of similar events at the present time—the demands of the people in the Serbian krajinas are justified. This is the answer to the question of why the Greeks are helping the Serbs," we were told by Mr. Evgenios Hantidis.

How Much of the Sanctions Hurt Greece

Have the war conflicts in Yugoslavia and the sanctions against the FRY to an immigration of Serbs into Salonika and Greece? we asked Mayor Hantidis.

"There are about half a million refugees in Greece. Most of them from Albania, about 350,000, and then from Bulgaria, but also from the former Yugoslavia. Out of appreciation for the troubles of those people who have fled from their homes, we have accepted them all, we have not turned away anyone, although we have certain economic difficulties. We did not inquire who was from where, although our problems with Skoplje are well-known," Mr. Hantidis said.

Do the economic troubles you mention have anything to do with the sanctions toward the FRY we wanted to know.

"All products from northern Greece, Macedonia, and Thrace which Greece is sending to central Europe travel across Yugoslavia. That was also the route for what Greece was importing from Europe. Tourists also came to us through Yugoslavia and from Yugoslavia, but the blockade of your country has stopped all that. Greece has lost about $3.5 billion because of this entire situation. We have a promise from the European Community that they will make up our losses, but nothing has come of that," the prefect of Salonika explained.

In answer to the question: Do you believe that the Balkans will soon become a peace zone? Mr. Evgenios Hantidis answered:

"We in Greece sincerely wish that. Mitsotakis, our prime minister, is making a great effort in that regard, but it is still difficult to forecast when peace will actually come. Nevertheless, sooner or later peace must certainly come."

We asked the mayor of Salonika whether the old idea of a confederation of Balkan countries, or its modern version of firmer ties among the Orthodox peoples of this region, could contribute to the restoration and strengthening of peace in the Balkans? To which he responded:

"That is a question that should be put to politicians, because that is their job; they exist in order to represent the interests of their people. As for ties between the Serbian and Greek peoples, churches, and governments, they already exist. For that matter, there is also something greater between us—mutual love and friendship. That is why I go so far as to say that we will go through all the present difficulties together. Even if it were more difficult, we would not have abandoned you. That is not just my opinion, as can best be seen from the attitude of the entire Greek press and media toward the rendering of aid to the Serbian people. Everyone agrees that that aid ought to be still greater, regardless of whether they are in the opposition or on the side of the incumbent party."

In answer to our question: What will you tell your fellow citizens, who in a short time have collected 50 tons of drugs, food, clothing, and footwear, which you have escorted in their name to Belgrade, when you go back to Greece? Mr. Evgenios Hantidis, mayor of Salonika, replied:

"The first thing I will say is that you love us as much as we love you, and the second is that in this difficult time you have preserved your dignity," Mr. Evgenios Hantidis, mayor of Salonika, said in an interview with POLITIKA.

Macedonia

Gligorov, Slovene President Discuss Cooperation

AU1007144593 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 8 Jul 93 no page number given

[Unattributed report: "Gligorov-Kucan, Behind Closed Doors"]

[Text] The president of the Republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, yesterday left for a two-day official visit to the Republic of Slovenia.

Gligorov's host is the Slovene President Milan Kucan. The talks between the two presidents, which were held behind closed doors, and were centered mainly on the current political situation on the Balkans and Europe, on the war being waged in Bosnia, and the ways to stop it.

In a friendly and open dialogue, both presidents expressed interest in improving the mutual cooperation between Macedonia and Slovenia.

According to NOVA MAKEDONIJA, "president Milan Kucan, during the talks with Gligorov, warned that recently in the international public scene, the idea to reestablish Yugoslavia is receiving much attention." Unofficial sources claimed that Kucan said that Slovenia is not interested in that.

NOVA MAKEDONIJA said that both presidents did not rule out the possibility of restoring economic cooperation between the states of the former Yugoslavia.

At the short press conference, following the discussions of the two presidents, Kiro Gligorov expressed gratitude to his hosts for the efforts Slovenia has made for the international recognition of Macedonia, and its acceptance to the United Nations.

First Embassy Opened in Slovenia

AU1007144693 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 8 Jul 93 no page number given

[Unattributed report: "Macedonian Embassy in Slovenia"]

[Text] Yesterday, as part of President Gligorov's visit to Slovenia, the Macedonian embassy in Ljubljana was opened. This is the first Macedonian embassy in the world. The embassy was opened by the Macedonian ambassador to Slovenia, Dimitar Mircev, and the ceremony, besides Gligorov, was attended by the Slovene President Milan Kucan and Slovene Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle.

United States Recommends 'Swift' Admission to CSCE

AU1007144893 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 9 Jul 93 no page number given

[Unattributed report: "The United States Recommends Macedonia's Access to the CSCE"]

[Text] The CSCE Committee for political issues and security yesterday adopted the American amendment recommending Macedonia's swift admission to the CSCE.

Also, it is recommended that those UN members who still had not recognized Macedonia should immediately do so.

The amendment was tabled by the United States yesterday, and following its adoption by the committee, it was included in the Draft Resolution to be definitely adopted at the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly.

U.S. Military Support Preferred to European

LD1007190393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1742 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Skopje, July 10 (TANJUG)—The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) prefers the military support of the United States than of Europe, FYROM Assembly President Stojan Andov told Macedonian radio on Saturday.

Andov said that FYROM leadership had chosen the U.S. military presence in the republic and not that of one or more European countries because Europe did not possess the necessary instruments nor the political will to prevent a possible attack on Macedonia.

According to Andov, European countries oppose each other because major European powers have old obligations and interests in the Balkans.

The United States, according to Andov, is the only world power which has no old imperial interests and inclinations in the Balkans. He said that only the U.S. concept allowed for the existence of the independent state of Macedodnia as a factor of peace.

Montenegro

Economic, Social Crisis Grips Montenegro

93BA1136E Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 93 p 8

[Article by Lj. Mudresa and D. Vukovic: "Montenegrin Assembly: Social Program Lacks 27 Million German Marks"]

[Text] Podgorica—The Montenegrin Assembly yesterday discussed two extremely topical subjects: the consequences of the sanctions and the new social policy of the republican government, which is intended to have a somewhat active effect on the social crisis. The Assembly did not permit the inclusion on the agenda of the bill presented by the People's Party of Montenegro [NSCG] on the return of real estate (the first bill offered by an opposition party), which the NSCG deputies called a "very bad move."

Describing economic and social conditions in Montenegro as extremely dramatic, Montenegrin Vice Prime Minister Mihailo Ljesar said that markets have been lost in those republics that have split off and that the same is true with the foreign market, that Montenegro and the FRY are excluded from the world capital market and that "important foreign-exchange resources" are blocked. "The foreign-exchange accounts of the NBJ [National Bank of Yugoslavia] and of commercial banks are blocked, and two-thirds of the maritime fleet is anchored and subject to the ongoing blockade. Tourism has no foreign guests and has no foreign-exchange revenues.

"The utilization of economic capacities ranges from 15 to 40 percent, or on the whole only one-third. As a result of this, around 30,000 workers are on mandatory leave each month," Ljesar concluded. Emphasizing that every day the exchange rate is having a destructive effect on the value of the national currency, he announced that inflation amounts to 7 to 10 percent a day, adding that two-thirds of the social product is the subject of distribution for the purpose of public consumption.

The foreign-exchange revenues lost by the maritime economy are estimated at around $57.5 million, while special outlay in this sector amounts to another approximately $33 million. The possibility that ships will be seized and the increased expenses to protect them are creating a catastrophic situation in this sector of the economy. The lost foreign-exchange revenues from tourism, Ljesar emphasized, are estimated at around $80 million, and the negative effect of blocked financial resources of banks and enterprises abroad is estimated at around $44 million. The loss to the economy based on the sanctions is estimated at $44 million. The social product has fallen below $700 per capita, with a further declining trend.

Minister of Labor and Social Welfare Milivoje Jaukovic announced a new government social program which for the most part will rely on budgetary financing, but he also emphasized that "the additional 27 million German marks needed to implement this program are lacking."

Illustrating the current economic and social conditions in Budva, Dragan Ivancevic, a deputy of the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro, said that an "ominous quiet" prevails in that metropolis of the Montenegrin tourism trade, instead of the "din of foreign tourists and rustle of greenbacks."

Dr. Milo Markovic, a deputy of the majority DPS [Democratic Party of Socialists], blamed the "new world order" for the current situation, while he praised the republican government for successfully grappling with problems, saying that it should be supported. Zarko Rakcevic, a deputy of the Social Democratic Party of Socialists, did not agree with the view that the sanctions are to blame for the current situation in Montenegro. His opinion is that international isolation simply accelerated processes that had emerged long ago.

[Box, p 8]

Inappropriate Presence

The chairman of the People's Party of Montenegro, Dr. Novak Kilibarda, warned yesterday in the Montenegrin Assembly, but also before journalists at a press conference, that it would be appropriate [as published] for Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic to speak at the anniversary celebration of battles in the NOB [People's Liberation Struggle—Second World War]. Dr. Kilibarda was referring here to press reports that Bulatovic will speak at the anniversary of the battles of Sutjeska and Neretva, the celebration of which is planned in Grahovo, the birthplace of national hero Sava Kovacevic.

The NSCG leader said that his party harbors respect for all the patriots who perished in these battles, but he feels that in these dangerous times the Montenegrin president should be impartial and remain above "political and ideological polemics."

Podgorica Branch Opens Branch in Montenegro

93BA1166A Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jun 93 p 3

[Article by D. C.: "New Bank"]

[Text] Budva, 14 Jun—A branch of Komercijalna Banka DD [stock company] Belgrade, which will conduct

banking transactions at home and abroad, was opened today at the Podkosljun Business Center in Budva. The bank's creditworthiness is best indicated by the fact that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] is also financed in Yugoslavia through that bank.

In connection with this, Milijana Gregovic, Komercijalna Banka Belgrade's director for development and the head of the branch in Budva, emphasized that they want to work with all clients, the economy and the population of the entire republic. From all indications, one large Cetinje enterprise will receive a requested loan of 9 billion dinars, because it is prepared to mortgage 350 square meters of office space in Belgrade.

Komercijalna Banka Belgrade gives interest of 122 to 135 percent a month for term deposits of funds, depending on the length of the deposit. For foreign exchange savings, it will pay the internal annual interest rate, plus 1 to 2 percent.

This bank was founded a year ago from part of Belgrade's Jugobanka. So far it has opened branches in Nis, Leskovac, Ruma, Banja Komiljaca, and, naturally, in Belgrade. Its branches are also operating in the Serbian Krajinas, in Knin and Mirkovci.

Kosovo

Qosja on Relations With Serbia, Macedonia

93BA1173C Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 18 Jun 93 p 9

[Interview with Albanian intellectual Rexhep Qosja by Salih Kabashi; place and date not given: "A 'Terrorist' Who Opposes Ghandism"]

[Text] *Rexhep Qosja: "We constantly talk about what Serbia can do, but not about what we can do ourselves"; the current policy of the Kosovo Albanians is jeopardizing the national spirit and is already on the verge of moral surrender.*

Rexhep Qosja is certainly one of the greatest living Albanian intellectuals, and his time is just coming. His views on settling the Albanian question gain more supporters among Albanians every day. He is the real opposite of Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, who is trying to use impractical Ghandism to oppose the militaristic Serbs, who have even taken the name away from the former autonomous province.

The Serbian press has labeled Academician Qosja a terrorist and a Greater-Albanian. He himself says that a great wrong was also done to the Albanians by last year's London conference. He is critical of the poor organization of Albanians, and at the beginning of the year he sent the Albanian president two open letters that seriously upset Albanian public opinion. He criticized President Berisha for introducing confusion with his positions, to the detriment of the Albanian cause. We should mention that the various delegations that come to Kosovo every day, so to speak, are increasingly interested in the opinion of this prominent and influential Albanian, who does not belong to any of the large parties there. In the coming days, his novel *Death Lurks in the Eyes* will be coming out in Paris in French. We also received the book years ago in Slovene. His latest book, *Strategy for National Unification,* is considered a sort of Albanian national holy scripture. We talked with Rexhep Qosja primarily about political matters.

[Kabashi] What can you say about the Albanian positions on Macedonia's admission to world organizations?

[Qosja] Our conduct in Macedonia and in connection with it only proves all the weakness of our policy. Even though there are 7 million of us in the Balkans and another 2-3 million in the diaspora, we are in a subordinate position in the Balkans. Why? And once again, why? This time the Albanians' political parties in Macedonia did not do what they could have. They forgot that by defending Tetovo we defend Mitrovice, by defending Gostivar, Pec, and by defending Debar, Prizren. They forgot that when we advocate a suitable position for Albanians in Macedonia, we are actually advocating the independence of Kosovo. We made a historic mistake, and such mistakes are only corrected with difficulty.

[Kabashi] You wrote to Albanian President Salih Berisha. What could Rexhep Qosja write to him?

[Qosja] I did not write just to him; I wrote to the Albanian public. I wrote to those whom President Berisha addressed at NATO headquarters in Brussels. Reporters inquired about the meaning of the phrase Greater Albania, which Dr. Berisha mentioned in Brussels, when the Americans warned him to talk less about Kosovo. After the publication of my open letters, President Berisha is no longer mentioning Greater Albania, and is talking about Greater Serbia instead.

[Kabashi] Mr. Professor, you have studied Serbian-Albanian relations. What has been done so far to have the world also find out about the Albanian view of that issue?

[Qosja] Serbia and Montenegro had already occupied Albanian territories before the Berlin Congress in 1878. Our historiography has already covered this matter in detail, but we Albanians are also too late in this, unfortunately.

[Kabashi] Last year, European diplomacy seriously discussed the former Yugoslavia's problems. The Serbs played their role excellently, and the Albanians worse....

[Qosja] Our parties actually tried to manipulate public opinion through several newspapers. They announced that the republic of Kosovo would be recognized by Croatia and Slovenia, that Kosovo would also be recognized by Macedonia, and then also by Bulgaria and Turkey. They tried to delight readers falsely with claims that the Kosovo problem would be resolved favorably because of the expected civil war in Serbia and the

independence of Montenegro. Our naivete has so far already removed the Milosevic regime countless times. We constantly talk about what Serbia can do, but we do not say anything about what we can do ourselves. We talk about what the European countries and the United States could do, and less about what we could do for ourselves. That kind of policy undoubtedly jeopardizes the people's spiritual strength and is already on the verge of moral surrender.

[Kabashi] No European or American body or statesman has supported the Albanian demands. In rare statements they emphasize that Kosovo is part of Serbia, and they talk about the Albanian minority, its special position, and the restoration of its autonomy.

[Qosja] Unfortunately, so far not one international body has shown any willingness to recognize the independence of Kosovo as a state, nor our right to state self-determination. That, of course, does not mean that we do not have that right. Likewise, we should not be distressed about that. By no means. The strength of politics lies precisely in winning others over to one's desires.

[Kabashi] A well-known Albanian figure has called upon the Serbs and Albanians to renounce their maximalist demands and devote themselves to creating a Balkan confederation with Serbs, Romanians, Bulgarians, Macedonians, and Kosovars. What can you say about that?

[Qosja] It is not possible to equate the demands of the Albanians to decide on their own fate and to be sovereign in a state where they constitute 90 percent, with the demands of the Serbs who have occupied Kosovo, who are barely 10 percent. Equating those two demands, the correct and legitimate one and the criminal and aggressive one, is a historical political mistake, just as the idea of some sort of confederation that would also include Albanians is wrong. As we know, the Yugoslav federation collapsed in blood, massacres, violence, genocide, and ethnic cleansing, which is still not over.

[Kabashi] If you look back into history and compare it with the present, could you wonder whether the Albanians coexistence with the Serbs is possible?

[Qosja] They say that multinational societies are the highest proof of civilization, but Europe and the Balkans are areas that arose on the basis of ethnic principles. If the Serbs, Muslims, and Croats who are only a little different ethnically and speak virtually the same language cannot live together, then why would the Serbs and Albanians live together, who do not even have a similar language and are also ethnically very different? It would be good for the Albanians and Serbs if they separated once and for all. That will be the best outcome. For Albanians, separation from the Serbs is a condition for freedom and independence.